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EDUCATION

SELECTIVE, SPECIFIC, COMPENSATORY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.,

LONDON, NEW YORK, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS.

EDUCATION

SELECTIVE, SPECIFIC, COMPENSATORY

BY

MICHAEL WEST

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

HONBLE. MR. W. W. HORNE

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BENGAL

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

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FOREWORD.

MY DEAR WEST,

You have asked me to write a foreword. I can contribute nothing, but I must in gratitude comply.

Education is just one of those problems which are so personally vital, that the ordinary Englishman who is fortunate enough not to depend for his livelihood on anything connected with pedagogy is irritated by the very recollection of their existence. He eyes the school-master with suspicion, as a potential bore of amazing importunacy, while he regards the organizer of education, especially in India, as, at best, a charlatan, at worst, a fanatic. "Mr. Hornell," said a charming lady to me once (I had only made her acquaintance some five minutes previously), "they tell me that you and Messrs. Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. are ruining India. The latter provide cheap European clothes, while you purvey indifferently education at a shamelessly inadequate figure!" I had just started on a well-rounded period of defence when I looked up and the lady had fled!

A peculiar difficulty confronts one who comes to this country to deal, either as a teacher or an organizer, with the practical problem of the education of the youth of modern India. At first sight the Indian high school or

university college seems to contradict everything that one ever imagined about India and its peoples. The peculiar merit of this book of yours is, as it seems to me, that in it you have risen above the perplexities with which you are surrounded and have asked yourself the vital question, "what is the motive which impels the parent as such to lay out money on the education of his children?"

Any honest attempt to solve this question will explain why the masses in Bengal are demanding English education—why my *Khansama's* son—for my *Khansama* is a capitalist—is wasting his own vitality and his father's substance in a persistent but vain attempt to pass the Matriculation Examination. My *Khansama* is in this matter "a gambler". Education is to him for rising, not for living contentedly in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him. This is the new wine which is being poured by the British Raj into the old skins of Indian Social organization! And the difficulties to which the use of education as a selective agency has led are not confined to India. The *déclassé* is everywhere, and it is not India alone which is proclaiming to a pleasure-loving world that the advantage of the State is not necessarily the advantage of any single member of it.

Some months ago I was forced to appear before the Indian Industries Commission. I know nothing whatever about industries; nor was I able to understand the list of questions with which that laborious body heralded its descent upon this much harassed Presidency. The receipt of the manuscript of this book rescued me from

a dilemma which promised to be a painful one. I analysed the general educational problem according to your formula, and then, having quoted your description of the working of primary and secondary schools in Bengal, I boldly defied the Commission to consign me and my vapourings to the limbo of the superfluous by insisting that an attempt to understand the educational system of the Presidency of Bengal, how it arose, how it is working, and whither it is tending, is not irrelevant to their inquiry from which (thank Heavens!) the question of technical education had been excluded!

Now that your book is about to be published, I am going to defy the public to say that the study of the origin, purpose, achievement, and development of the school system of Bengal is not of practical interest to all who are looking on at the evolution of India, whether in hope or with fear!

I am,

Yours sincerely,

W. W. HORNELL.

THE BENGAL CLUB,
CALCUTTA, 27th March, 1917.

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PART I.

. PRESENTED BY
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI
OF UTTARPARA.

CHAPTER I.

ERRATA.

Owing to loss at sea of a list of proof corrections the following errata will be found in this book :—

- Page 37 From top 12th line "sons" read "son."
" 39 From bottom 5th line "it" read "them."
" 47 From top 8th line "rival" read "tribal "
" 49 From top 17th line "which" read "whose."
" 55 Last line "to" read "in "
Pages 59, 60 "Jules" read "Jean "
Page 108 From bottom 6th line "nature" read "creature "
" 113 From bottom 8th line "one" read "me."
" 125 Footnote "Mans" read "Mame "
" 126 Bottom 4th *et seq.* "Nordenau" read "Nordau."
" 187 Bottom 11th "is" read "are."
" 199 Footnote No. 3 "Swabs" read "and Swale."
" "on the" read "on."

systems do not have "purposes". They arise, and the purpose is added as an afterthought to explain existing phenomena. It has been said that the educational system of England aims at educating the elector,³ but it includes

¹ Hughes, "Making of Citizens," p. 15.

² Henderson's textbook, "The Principles of Education," pp. 473-4.

³ Marriott, "England since Waterloo," p. 397. Veitch, "Empire and Democracy," p. 54.

no effective teaching as to the nature of the Government.¹ The history in the curriculum is weak and out of date. No modern problems are treated. If any of these things are by chance spoken of in the classroom, it is as side shows, as "Superfluity of Conscientiousness" by an energetic teacher. The purpose of the educational system is not insisted upon, it is not an essential subject in the curriculum. Similarly, it is stated in the despatch 1854 that education in India is intended to cure certain grave moral and social evils. But it would be very difficult to trace in the then or in the present primary or secondary curriculum any subjects which directly reflect this purpose. Perhaps "Mahajani loans" and "Sanitation" might be so considered. But then these subjects are seldom really taught.

The idea in the mind of the giver of education is as a rule very vague. But even were it distinct it makes very little difference. The real determinant of education is the recipient. An education may be provided, but if no one receives it, it comes to nothing. Whereas if a number of people want a certain education, a school is certain to arise.

The idea in the mind of the recipient is usually a great deal clearer than the idea in the mind of the giver. The bulk of the recipients are uneducated manual labourers. The givers are educated professional men; they are for the most part wealthier, more influential, they lead happier and more refined lives. There are two fundamental differences between the two groups which produce this difference of condition,—one difference is Birth, and the other is Education. One cannot expect that the lower, less comfortable group (consisting of parents demanding

¹ Fabian Ware, "Educational Foundations of Commerce and Industry".
Monro, "Brief Course in the History of Education," pp. 405-6.

benefit for their sons) will admit birth as a valid reason. The difference remaining is education, consisting of two parts, Nurture (received at home, the result of personal influence and surroundings) and Schooling. The "Nurture" is less obvious. Every one has nurture; both sides of this argument have nurture; therefore it must be the schooling that makes the difference.

I need hardly point out the fallacy in the argument, not only the under-estimation of heredity, and the total neglect of home influence, but also the over-estimation of schooling as compared with nurture.

The motive of the recipient is then to achieve that unknown element, Education, which makes the upper classes different from himself. In other words, he looks on education as a means of elevating his son into the professional grades.

Redistribution.—Society is based upon specialization and division of labour. Division of labour is based upon individual differences.¹ If all men could make shoes equally well, there would be little need of a shoemaker. Individual differences are of two kinds, hereditary and acquired. A man may differ from others because he has a special aptitude for fine manual work; or he may differ from others in that, being a shoemaker, he is specialized or "warped" in knowledge by the knowledge of his craft, and in skill by the skill of his craft. Contrast him, for instance, with a backwoodsman manufacturing for himself all his requirements—a man, so far as possible, not warped at all. Contrast him again with a chemist, a man warped in a different direction.

It is to be noticed that the Hereditary Individual Differences are general; whereas the Acquired Individual

¹ Bucher, "Industrial Evolution," chap. viii.

Differences are specific.¹ The born shoemaker differs from other men in inheriting a general aptitude for manual work. He did not inherit a special aptitude for making shoes. His aptitude might be devoted to watchmaking. To what particular art it is devoted will depend on his early circumstances and experience.

On the contrary, the acquired aptitude is specific. The acquirement of a special aptitude for shoemaking does not give a general manual skill, so that a man who by much practice had made himself a good shoemaker could thereby be an equally good watchmaker or tailor or anything else.

In order to obtain the maximum efficiency from the division of labour, it is clearly necessary to arrange that the acquired difference may be based upon the inherited difference, to arrange that the man with a special aptitude for fine manual labour may have opportunity to specialize himself in some branch of fine manual labour, and not, for example, in coolie work or clerical work, for which by his real nature he is not greatly gifted.

As each generation passes away and a new one comes to take its place, there are a number of places left vacant, shoemaker-ships, watchmaker-ships, clerk-ships, etc. Each place requires special powers—special hereditary aptitude, and special acquired adaptation. At the same time a number of infants are being born into the world who have got, as they grow up, to fill these constantly occurring vacancies. The problem is how to sort these new workers. How shall each be allotted to a vacancy so that his "acquired difference may be based upon his hereditary difference".

If heredity were so simple and invariable in its action that the son of a good shoemaker would always inherit

¹ Thorndike, "Principles of Teaching," chap. iii.

his father's aptitude, the task would be considerably simplified. The son of a shoemaker could always be educated as a shoemaker to fill the vacancy in the craft. Hence the earliest and simplest form of education—the education of a son by his father in the father's own craft. Out of that apprenticeship arises.¹ The father is too busy to educate his son fully, hence he makes over the charge to some one less busy. Or, more frequently, the father is not fully satisfied with his own powers and methods, and he makes over the education of his son to one whom he imagines to be more competent than himself. In either case there is a tendency to conservatism. A small group of men educate their children in their own trade. They hand down their methods to their children, who again pass them on to the grandchildren. No doubt in each generation the children learn the best of the prevailing methods, and in this way the craftsmanship gradually becomes more perfect. But no startling innovation can be introduced. No one fresh and original comes from outside unfettered by too much respect for an excellent but too narrow tradition.

The fundamental objection is more weighty than this. Apprenticeship assumes that the son follows in the special aptitude of his father. The father himself, in his special aptitude, was a variation from the normal. We must expect that his children will also vary from him.

The father is more skilful than the average run of men. Of his children some are more and some less skilful than the father.² The less skilful may not be fit for shoemaking. The more skilful may be fit for more difficult and hence better-paid work—better-paid because there are fewer people skilful enough to do it. Besides these

¹ Dunlop and Joyce, "Apprenticeship".

² Thorndike, "Educational Psychology," chap. ii.

differences in degree, there are qualitative variations in inheritance.

So we are faced with the problem of picking out from the miscellaneous collection of children who comprise the new generation which are better than their fathers and should go up higher, or worse than their fathers and should go down lower, and of deciding for those who are to go up higher to what special higher branch they are to go, similarly to what special lower branch the lower ones shall go.

The Importance of Redistribution.—We have considered redistribution above simply from the point of view of the individual. The individual demands it because he considers that he has a right to the fullest possible use of his talents, and a right to occupy the better-paid post if he can show himself competent. This last is more usually expressed in the converse "that no one has a right to hold a better-paid post unless he has shown himself superior".

To a certain extent this requirement of the individual is also the advantage of the state. There are certain posts of such responsibility that it is to the advantage of every one that they should be well filled. Heredity is not a certain guide; the son of the successful Prime Minister will not necessarily be fit for his father's rank. But it is not merely the posts of Prime Ministers which require careful selection. There are the public services where an incompetent man, in however small a post, may cause endless trouble and bother to the general public. Add to this certain of the professions, doctor and lawyer. The general public is unable to judge well between a capable and an incapable doctor or solicitor; endless suffering may be caused by allowing an ignorant practitioner to delude the public. If the professions were filled

by heredity in every case, it is clear that the general public would be sometimes the sufferers. They would not always get the best man for the most important work. They would get a number of inferior men not really up to the work.

Too much is not to be made of the uncertainty of heredity. It is true that sons vary, but, as already stated, they vary about the central tendency of the father. Thus if a successful doctor has ten sons, five better and five not as good as himself, it is still to be remembered that three at least of the five inferior children are a great deal more gifted than "the average man". Unless the test used to select new recruits is extraordinarily effective, taking note not merely of technical power but also of character, it is a good deal more probable that we shall get the best men by blindly following heredity than by applying an imperfect selective test to a mass of totally unknown materials.

If the uncertainty of heredity were the only argument for redistribution there would certainly be no case at all.

The real need of such re-sorting arises from the fact of the deterioration of the upper classes.¹ The upper classes who hold the responsible posts are open to several influences which tend to lower their standard of ability and character. They live, on the whole, easier and more luxurious lives than those immediately below them; they are therefore liable to become soft and produce a less hardy, less energetic offspring. They have a certain standard of living to maintain on means not more than sufficient to provide it. The expenses of raising a family are liable to make them limit the number of their offspring. Lastly, they are in time of war more liable to extinction than the lower classes. In time of war practi-

¹ Bucher, "Industrial Evolution," p. 343.

cally the whole of the upper classes is exposed to death, whereas only a comparatively smaller proportion of the lower classes is endangered. War kills off the best men; a war always leaves the aristocracy in need of recruitment. It is for this reason that it is to the advantage of the state to select from below instead of following heredity above.

There must be a steady upward progress whereby the head of the nation is renewed from the common fund of fresh physical strength. "The solution of this problem," says Bucher,¹ "is to modern civilized peoples a question of their very existence." He asserts that the decline of Holland is simply due to the failure of this process.

Methods of Redistribution.—The task of redistribution falls on education. How is it fulfilled?

Let us suppose that we wish to select for the new generation all those who have special abilities to be lawyers.

The work of a lawyer requires considerable previous training, both pure bookwork, and also that skill and attitude towards the work which is obtained only by personal imitation.

Apprenticeship.—Under a caste system of hereditary occupation this training would be given by a system of apprenticeship.²

It would take the form of a gradually more and more specialized training from youth up. If now we wish to select the born lawyer from the crowd of applicants, what more easy than to put all through the ordinary legal training and apprenticeship and note those who succeed and those who fail. At the close of the apprenticeship the most suitable may be selected. This system would have the advantage of providing a genuine specific test.

¹ "Industrial Evolution," p. 343.

² Cosmorswamy, "Indian Apprenticeship".

For the work on which the boy is tested would be a very close approximation to the actual duties of the profession. It would be the actual work for which the boy pretends to special aptitude and would thus be a perfect test of special aptitude.¹

But this clearly is not the method used by any profession or calling for selecting its recruits. It is obviously impracticable. There is a great rush of largely unsuitable material towards a certain few favoured professions. The bulk of the candidates, after spending their youth on a highly specialized course of training, would be rejected as unfit for the profession, and by the narrow nature of their training they would find themselves unfit also for anything else. Meanwhile many professions of equal merit which are less known to the ignorant general public would remain destitute of recruits. From the point of view of the favoured professions this selective use of apprenticeship would be undesirable, because they would have to train a great many more candidates than they needed. From the point of view of the educand² it would be undesirable because of the danger of a failure which would bring with it unpreparedness for anything else.

Preparatory Test.—It is wasteful that highly specialized professional men should spend their time teaching the elements of their subject to young apprentices. Nor are they well suited to teach such things. Therefore let this elementary knowledge be demanded of the candidates, but the instruction may be given by some other agency than the professional man.

The competition for entrance to various professions differs in intensity. By means of a test of this prepara-

¹ Report of the British Association, Section 6, 1914.

² Adams uses this convenient word in "Exposition and Illustration" for 'the recipient of education'.

tory work a popular vocation may select a limited number of the cleverer candidates for training.

Such an examination is popular with the educand because it warns the unfit at an earlier stage and thus prevents the wastage of the whole of youth in preparation for a calling from which in the end he will be rejected.

The Nature of the Preparatory Course.—Of what nature will this preparatory course be? One would imagine that it would be a training in the elements of the subject which will be studied later. If the boy is to be a doctor, it would correspond to the initial stages of the training which would be given under an apprenticeship system. It would involve some general subjects such as reading and writing. Most of the course would consist in very elementary details of the menial part of the profession, and in "living in the atmosphere," in watching and acquiring a basis for unconscious imitation:

In fact, the training would be of a more or less specific nature from the first. As such, it would constitute a specific test. The test would show that the boy is fit or unfit for doctoring. It would say nothing of his capabilities elsewhere.

This would be the natural expectation but it is not the fact.

The Motives Rendering the Preparatory Test Non-Specific.—These motives again lie partly with the occupational educators, partly with the educand.

It is clear that certain acquisitions are generally necessary in most professions, and in some trades. Reading and writing are needful for the doctor, the lawyer, or the business man. Arithmetic and the elements of geography and of science are also generally necessary. This fact is used by both sides as a reason for the general nature of the preparatory course. But if the argument

be examined more closely it will be seen that this is very evidently not the true reason for the phenomenon.

• In the first place, it is not true that reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and science are necessary in all vocations, or rather they are not necessary in the same degree or in the same way. It is impossible to devise an elementary course which will contain enough reading and writing for the lawyer yet not too much for the soldier or the farmer. It is impossible to combine in the same course sufficient arithmetic for the business man, yet not too much for the cleric or the author. This "enough" and "too much" is a matter of stress. Arithmetic is no doubt an excellent thing for the priest or the author. But it is not the main thing. It would not occupy in their apprenticeship course the same predominant place which it would fill in the apprenticeship of a future man of business.

Again, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography are general terms. Each covers a field of studies wide enough in itself to be the occupation of a lifetime. Hence it is clear that various beginners making but an elementary study may approach each subject from very different points of view. The apprentice business man would at the very beginning deal with money and measures; he would pass rapidly to the higher stages of bills, discount, interest, and later, accounts. So again the geography of the commercial man and the geography of the future scientist are widely different studies. But yet it is stated that "every boy needs a knowledge of geography," whether he will be an export trader or meteorological observer or neither in his after-life.

As a matter of fact, the statement is true. Certainly every one needs reading, writing, arithmetic, geography. Every one needs them because these terms are loose

generalizations covering a limitless field of knowledge. But if we take the subjects piecemeal, "Does this boy require the physical geography of Central Africa in detail?" "Does this boy require a full knowledge of soils and their properties," then differences begin to appear. One boy's livelihood depends on his knowledge of soils: to another boy this knowledge can never be more than a passing and unpractical interest.

Let us look at the matter from the point of view of motive. The recruiting profession requires a large number of candidates to choose from. The more there are, the keener the competition—the more likely is the professional college to obtain the best natural material. Never mind if they have not learned anything of use to their coming studies; all *that* can be taught afterwards. The great thing is to get hold of the boy of natural ¹aptitudes. So that whereas the primary motive was to get rid of the elementary teaching, eventually the motive is the selection of the best material. If the preparatory course were in any way specialized the range of opportunities to which it leads would be narrowed. The best boy goes for the widest range of opportunities.² He does not know his powers. Naturally he will not aim intentionally low. He will put his aim high and leave a chance for the still higher. At the same time, if he fails, he is not lost, for there are lower opportunities also.

It is therefore of the greater advantage to the professions to combine and standardize their entrance qualifications. For the chances of each profession getting the man it wants are enormously increased. Let us suppose that one profession, e.g. engineering, were to start a

¹ Burt, "General Intelligence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1912.

² As an example read "Professions for our Boys".

more specific course and examination, in place, shall we say, of the matriculation.¹ Only those boys who are not confident of their powers will forego the larger hopes in favour of the smaller certainty. The matriculation may bring failure, but it may bring tremendous success—a barrister earning 12 lakhs per annum. The boy who has reason to hope goes for the hope; and the second-rate boy, who fears, goes for the specific examination where the competition is not so severe. There also goes the boy of narrow powers, a mere engine-driver.

The engineering college finds that the products of its early specialization are second rate—unambitious boys without originality or self-confidence, or else boys of a narrow range of powers. They abandon the course. Sometimes the true explanation is realized. But more often the theory is raised that “early specialization produces narrowness and lack of originality”. The case is quoted of Messrs. John Dewar & Co., who prefer to select the University graduate rather than the technical school pupil, however valuable a specific training he may have had for the work he is to do. Messrs. Dewar realize that in the technical school they are selecting from the already rejected or the already narrow. In the University they find the wider, or the more hopeful boys.

It does not pay any profession to start its own specific entrance test or preparatory training.

These influences tend to make the preparatory course a general one. Since it is general, it rests with the pedagogue to find a reason for its being so. The divisions of human knowledge are wide and vague. Anything from the customs of the Assam hill tribes to the use of the thermometer may be included in geography. The medical profession would not deny that their candidates

¹ Example—The “B Course” in Bengal.

should learn the handling of scientific apparatus; the Chamber of Commerce would favour the learning of the habits of possible customers. Hence "all boys of whatever future profession require a knowledge of geography". The same applies to the other subjects. Yet there is no single fact or accomplishment (unless it be the bare power to write, to read, and to add) which is required by every single man alive.

The Multiplication of Examinations.—We have up to the present traced the natural development of a set of specific apprenticeship courses, and a selective general preparatory course to them. Let us see now how this becomes complicated. For in the selective educational systems of the present day many examinations and courses come below the final specific course. Thus for Dentist there is

Junior school—Preparatory school entrance examination.

Preparatory school—Public school entrance examination.

Public school course—Matriculation.

University course—University final examinations.

Professional course—Professional final examination.

In addition to this there are the numerous examinations in the public school course and the selective nature of the course itself.

In early days the University was practically a school. Its matriculates brought to it the elementary knowledge given them by a private tutor. Later we find the public school leading to the University. Again we find the preparatory school leading to the public school. A boy entering a preparatory school is expected to be able to read and write. So there is a junior school, or kinder-

garten, leading to the preparatory school, which leads to the public school, which leads to the University, which leads to the professional course.

- The growth is a natural process. It is a growth which is still continuing. Return to the single preparatory course leading to a professional training. Some of the children coming to the preparatory course endeavour to get a start of their fellows—or rather their parents make them do so—by some preparatory training. They go to the school having already mastered the elements. There is a demand for “preparatory coaching,” i.e. coaching preparatory to the preparatory school. This demand tends to produce a pre-preparatory school. At the same time the teachers of the preparatory school find that the bulk of their pupils come to them knowing certain elements. Those who come without such knowledge are a nuisance, they upset the classification and the work of the lowest standard. The teacher always desires to get rid of his elementary work, to concentrate on his best boys. Therefore an entrance examination is started to make sure that the boys entering the school already know these elements. The standard of both schools rises a little. The pre-preparatory school ceases to teach the mere art of handling a pen and recognizing a letter. It teaches the three arts. It demands from its pupils on admission the power to write and recognize the alphabet, the power to handle a pencil and paint brush. Hence arises a kindergarten which supplies these qualifications, and is thus a pre-pre-preparatory school.

This multiplication is, of course, partly due to the multiplication of examinations, for each course in a selective system begins and ends with an examination. Supposing we demand in an examination a knowledge of spelling and of arithmetic. The aim of the examination

is to discover how much the boy knows. In order to select and grade, a paper must be set which very few boys can answer fully, some can answer partially, and a few cannot answer at all. Greater stress is therefore laid on the more abstruse parts of the subject. In order to pick out the first class as opposed to the second and the third and the pass, we must set the spelling of

Phlegm,
Scythe,
Photo-chrome,

and the working out of unlikely sums. Our questions must be set on those parts of the book which the boy is not expected to have studied. Examinations and Teachers is a case of Guns versus Armament.¹ The teacher replies to the examiners' well-aimed cannonade¹ by neglecting the ordinary parts of the book and specializing on the unlikely. It is found that the boys passing this examination are sound enough on the difficulties of the subject, but weak on the elements. Hence a preliminary test is devised to make certain that the boy who qualifies in difficulties has previously qualified in the simplicities.

Another examination tends to produce another course.

The Upwards Extension of Preparation.—Thus the single preparatory course leading to the specific training adds to itself a pre-preparatory course with a pre-preparatory examination in simple work and this in turn adds to itself a pre-pre-preparatory course in elements.

On the other hand, the specific course itself may become preparatory, for the extension of the subject demands special facilities and perhaps a special locality. As a result the higher studies may be made over to separate institutions. The original institution becomes

¹ Latham, "The Action of Examinations".

preparatory, and becoming preparatory; it becomes also more general, since it has to prepare for several higher institutions. We may instance the relation of the University medical course to the hospitals.

Thus from the original idea of redistribution by a specific course of apprenticeship from which the unfit are rejected, we reach an educational system built up of successive preparatory stages, each one being a "general preparation," each one delaying the final day of actual training. Each course is general, because, unless it be general, competition will not be keen.

A series of sieves shakes the youth of the country until at last only a few shaken and worn remnants remain, those who have survived successive "general preparatory tests," not one of these tests bearing any direct relation to the ultimate subject of study. This vast system is intended to pick out these suited for promotion to certain favoured professions—doctor, lawyer, public servant. It is to find out and place in the positions of responsibility the best of each generation. Does it do this? What effects does it have in doing it?

The Effect of the Selective System on Curriculum.—We have seen that in the preparatory course the subjects must be the same for all. Otherwise all will not enter. If all do not enter, the best cannot be selected.

Originally these common subjects were to include only the basic elements which all are supposed to need. Naturally it is not supposed that nothing else will be studied. These subjects are only to be the subjects of the test. Thus in the earlier test we may suppose that the test subjects are reading, writing, arithmetic. But it is not supposed that no other subjects are to be studied—no music, no history, no literature, no art, no games. The fact that certain subjects are required in the next

grade is no reason why those subjects only should be studied in this grade. It would be very undesirable to make every subject on the time-table an examination subject.

Theoretically this is excellent. In practice it does not work. A school is judged by the parents according to its examination success. This is the only objective and measurable criterion. The school has therefore to judge itself by its examination success. Hence it naturally lays stress on those subjects studied for the examination. The teachers are judged by the examination. They stress the examination subjects. The boys follow the opinion of their masters. What conduces to success in the test is studied. Other things are not studied. They may be on the curriculum. Time may be allotted to them. But the work is perfunctory. Such subjects from the first are doomed to failure. The subject does not 'do well' in the school; it is dropped—very likely on the score of "over-crowding of the curriculum".

In this way the curriculum becomes limited. Stage B drops all studies which do not conduce to stage A. Stage C drops all subjects not conducing to Stage B. Eventually the range of studies is confined throughout the course to the limits of the top grade. The top grade being final is likely to be somewhat narrow, for if deeper study has to be made, not too many subjects can be undertaken. Thus the limitation of the top grade tends to spread throughout the whole course. The classical course of the English University influences the preparatory school so that all studies not conducive to the University's classical course are either abandoned or else become merely nominal. Example—Public School French. The same process is seen with regard to Drawing in the Indian High Schools.

• This full process does not take place.

The controllers of the higher stages of the course are struck by the limitations of the curriculum studied further down. For example, the literature of the mother-tongue is not read at all. Hence this subject is made compulsory. It is made compulsory by putting it into the semi-final examination. Thus one subject after another is introduced into the examination as "accessory subjects," while the narrow core remains unchanged.

The original scheme was merely to test that a boy has the requisite elements of knowledge necessary for the prosecution of higher studies. He is going in for a course in mathematics—he must know the elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Beyond this no interference will be made by the higher institution with the course of studies of the lower. It is found that the boys of the lower institution are studying arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, and practically nothing else. If other subjects are to be included, it can be done only by including them in the higher test. Thus the whole curriculum comes under the influence of the University and its examination. We may yet see Manual Work in the Matriculation examination of Calcutta University. Only the patent absurdity of it prevents the encouragement of football by its inclusion. The absurdity is not so great, for under a selective system of education this is the only means whereby proper attention to games and handwork could be ensured.

Thus the first effects of a selective system on the curriculum are—

1. To produce a narrow range of subjects.
2. To bring all subjects studied under the influence of examinations.

Abstract Nature of the Curriculum.—One series of

preparatory examinations acts as the gateway for many studies. The idea of this examination is that it shall be non-specific. It must not be a definite preparation for any of the subsequent studies. For—

1. The professors of subsequent studies do not want their subjects "spoiled".

2. Early specialization is said to be undesirable (as in the case of Messrs. Dewar, quoted above).

The more subsequent specific studies there are, the more studies will be excluded from the present curriculum. Medicine is a subsequent study; hence a smattering of physiology cannot be included in the present general course. Nor yet Law, nor yet Engineering, nor yet anything commercial or industrial. Thus all the "useful" subjects are cut out.

The course is therefore confined to the liberal studies. The most liberal studies, e.g. music, art, the literature of the mother-tongue, cannot successfully be brought under the examination. Not being in the examination they are neglected. The curriculum left consists in certain semi-liberal subjects which are amenable to examination, viz. Language, Mathematics, History, Geography.

Conservatism of the Curricula.—Where a subject is taught for its inherent value the disappearance of that value will cause the discontinuance of the subject. Thus a soldier learns semaphore signalling. It is found that semaphore signalling is slow and not very legible. If this form of signalling be discontinued in the army, it will be discontinued also in the training of the recruit.

But where a subject is included merely as a selective test this does not hold. No doubt in the first case the subject was selected for the test because of its utility. Its utility vanishes, but the subject continues, because it is of prime importance that a test should remain constant.

If the University were to discontinue Latin as an entrance qualification, it would no longer get the same type of man nor the same grade of man or the same grading of examinees. The standard would be altered. But this is not the main consideration. The main opposition comes from the future candidates. In stage A, B, and C there are boys preparing, some just beginning, some nearly finished; their labour will be wasted. In stage A, B, and C there is the machinery for teaching the subject. That would have to be scrapped.

A technical school will "scrap" a useless study quickly enough. But a selective test fears for its standard, lest it be altered, and to the preparatory schools the uselessness of a subject matters little. That is useful which conduces to the examination. They do not want the examination changed lest labour and machinery both be lost.

Hence powerful forces tend to keep the curriculum the same, year after year. The elder and the younger brother were judged by the same test and their qualifications are commensurate.

Uniformity of Curriculum.—If we were set to draw up a curriculum for the schools of a single county or a single Division, taking into consideration the peculiar local requirements not only of each place but of each class of children, we should find the task one of the greatest complexity. Each school would have special needs, special powers, special disabilities. Each child or group of children would have special requirements, special "importances". A curriculum would be drawn up by each school. The course of studies of no two schools would be alike.¹

How comes it, then, that with all these special needs

¹ Darroch, "Education and the New Utilitarianism".

the schools of a whole province of India, the schools all over England study the same curriculum? Because for a selective test uniformity is essential. It is necessary to compare and grade from Dacca, and from Chittagong, and Darjeeling, and to say that one is better than the other. We must compare and evaluate comparatively a Devonian and Scotchman, an Aracanese Magh and a Calcutta Bengali. Hence both must study the same course and submit to the same test.

As a result individual needs and individual powers are neglected. Absolute uniformity produces absolute fairness. By this system two absolute incomparables are compared, and on the basis of a course of studies which suits neither a living being, immeasurable, indefinable, is defined, measured, and labelled as better or worse, than another being equally indefinable.

This need for uniformity strengthens the conservative tendency. It is a little thing for a single school of tinctorial chemistry to alter its textbooks, to adopt a new subject and drop an old one. But the bravest educationist trembles at the thought of altering so much as the copy-book of ten thousand uniform schools.

The Effect of the Selective System on Knowledge.—The nature of the school is reflected in the knowledge of the day. Classical studies in the school gave life to the classic literature of the eighteenth century. The present movement for popular learning is no doubt in very large part due to the widening of interests in the primary school curriculum.

The narrowness and immobility of the curriculum under the selective system is responsible for several characteristics in the learning of to-day.

The absence of Literature as a subject from the public schools is responsible for the upper-class attitude to the

literature of the present. It is no disgrace for a gentleman to know nothing, not merely of the past literature of England, but of the present also. The subaltern, and the civilian top, will openly boast of their contempt for poetry, but never their contempt for the classics. There they may admit ignorance—but not contempt. There is no modern Mæcenas, because Mæcenas has learned no literature at school. Poetry is bourgeois.

The second characteristic effect is exclusiveness of learning. A boy studies what he is examined in. Hence the literary course is innocent of science, in fact, if not in name. The scientific course may give a smattering of literature; but it is a minor subject, a perfunctory task. Hence the scientist in later life professes himself blankly innocent of literature. The literary man considers science not his sphere, and reveals painful ignorance of the elements in his writing. H. G. Wells is a standing wonder, a scientist who can write good English, a literary man who knows science! He must have taken a double degree!

The third characteristic is the absence of disinterested study. The boy who studied Chaucer for an examination is unlikely to read Chaucer afterwards for pleasure. If a man reveals knowledge of Chaucer he is liable to be asked what examination he studied it for. The fact that every study has its bait or its threat produces a habit of studying in hope or in fear, and when the hope or the fear is removed the study ceases.

The fourth characteristic is early self-satisfaction in learning. The passing of an examination acts as a deterrent. To have studied a certain number of books is to have studied certain books—and no more. To have read Shakespeare is not to have read Milton. To have read Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Words-

worth is not to have read Newbolt, Watson, Swinburne. But if Chaucer, Spenser and the rest are elements of a course in English, which sets itself to be complete, and leads to the conferring of a Degree in English Literature, then a sense of finality is given. "I have taken a Degree in English Literature; now I will go on to something else."

Thus a selective system, where a man is picked or rejected, leaves in the rejected a loss of confidence in his powers so that he turns to pastures new, and leaves in the selected repletion and self-satisfaction so that he seeks new worlds to conquer. At the age of eighteen or twenty a boy is told that he is a qualified *littérateur* or scientist.

Emphasis of the Work in the Liberal Education—It is easy by means of an examination to test what a man knows. It is difficult to test what a man is. At any chosen moment a man's knowledge is a definite amount. It can be tested and expressed numerically. Tested again to-morrow a similar result would be obtained by any reasonably accurate methods. But a man's nature to-day does not equal his nature to-morrow plus a few extra facts. To-day is one thing, to-morrow is another. Shakespeare on his "off day" might be the most prosaic of mortals and take third class in Poetry. True liberal education produces a man. It emphasizes not knowledge, nor work, but growth. A technical education considers what a man can do. A liberal education considers what a man can be. What a man does can be tested. What a man is cannot be tested. What is the results of introducing a test? The result to shift the emphasis from growth to skill, from power to fact, from nature to expression. Thus the literature course no longer produces the poet but the literary encyclopædist, or the impromptu author; in the one case know-

ledge, in the other skill; in neither cases character, nature.

Consider the change if football were the subject of an examination. At present the Public School boy is not necessarily an expert. Many things might be done to make him a better player. There might be private coaching in certain movements, lectures on the theory of the game. But this is not considered "the thing". The conscious aim of football and its result at the public school is to produce a boy who can win without effrontery, who can loose without anger or despair; who can play for the sake of playing, who can take pleasure in another's skill as well as in his own, who can bear pain with concealment, and feel pride without conceit.

But the examination footballer would be an acrobat, who would make an exhibition to order, who would explain to order the theory of the game. His skill would be judged, and his knowledge would be judged. He would set himself to acquire exhibitable skill and knowledge. In this process the essence of the game, and the essence of the school, would disappear.¹

The Effect of the Examination on the Method of Study.—The deductive methods of study which characterized the middle ages were in a large part the product of the educational system of the day.² Certain credited authorities were implicitly relied on; a quotation from them proved the point. The bulk of argument consisted in deduction from generally acknowledged authors. Study consisted in complete, verbal, quotable knowledge of these authors. Proof in argument was very often merely verbal; confutation consisted in those quibbles and twists which

¹ Consider the result of the excess of football cups in Bengal.

² Latham, op. cit. Rait, "The Mediæval University" ("Cambridge University Manuals").

decisive in conversation but are useless as solid proof. Written, they appear very thin.

The system of examination in vogue at the time was the Disputation. The student was called upon to argue some point in his subject. His opponent took the opposite point of view. Now in argument of this kind the original authority is a powerful weapon. To contradict Aristotle on the spot is a dangerous step. Aristotle might be proved wrong by laborious research. But no such research existed. There was no more valuable weapon in the examination room than a well-chosen quotation. Hence came verbal study of the book so that the author's words on any subject could be instantaneously reproduced. Deep and full knowledge of the original was essential; it was necessary to identify the opponent's quotations as well as to quote oneself. One must know the whole author, lest the opponent compound his own quotations, lest he quote from some doubtful volume of Aristotle and use it with the full weight of the mighty name. Quibbles, confutations, dilemma were valuable instruments. At the long range of six hundred years and more they are not so effective. But at the moment, soon passed over and forgotten, they achieved a temporary triumph, and that was enough.

Hence came the mediæval deductive method of study, reliance on authorities, study of authorities with painful minuteness. Hence logical quibbles for arguments, showy rhetoric and little solid proof, but thoroughness, in a narrow range it is true, but amazing thoroughness.

The written examination has no less important effects upon methods of study. In the written answer the examinee must know the whole of his subject. A question on some out-of-the-way topic might otherwise produce disastrous results. Knowledge of originals is unneces-

sary. For a few pre-selected quotations will do to deceive the reader of the paper. A wide cram book is the best instrument for study. It covers the ground leaving no blank corners. It is nowhere unnecessarily thorough. Thoroughness and detail do not pay. It is impossible to give a thorough life of Milton, a thorough exposition of Akbar's policy in twenty minutes. Thorough knowledge is an actual handicap, for the more one knows the harder it is rapidly to select the essentials. Ignorance of detail can always be slurred over. The examiner cannot answer back; he cannot press a lightly veiled point of ignorance.

Hence arises a type of knowledge wide, superficial, based not on originals but on textbooks. The difficulties are better known than the elements. There is nothing of which the examinee knows nothing; there is nothing of which he knows everything. Full knowledge is the knowledge of most value in life; the examinee has none of it. His life study has been the concealment of his ignorance. In this he has succeeded. He has never been asked to prove his knowledge. If we complain nowadays of modern superficiality, of lack of good scholarship, of qualified ignoramuses and showy dilettantes, in the selective system of education we must find the cause.

The Effect of the Selective System on Teaching.—There is a law of minimum effort¹ in preparation for examination. Whatever the benefit conferred by the examination the teacher will reach up to the minimum standard required to obtain that benefit. A certain level of each subject is required in order to pass into a Public School, to get a first class in Honour Moderations, to get a dentist's diploma or a doctor's degree. The teacher

¹ Latham, "Action of Examination," p. 202.

may have special powers, the boy special gifts, but neither may be used. Suppose a preparatory school has a teacher with special gifts in the teaching of French; he may raise the standard of his school in that subject far above what it was before. But it will not pay him. The boys have only to *pass* in French. More than that gains no credit—and it wastes time. The standard of the examination in French depends on a thousand other schools. It is of no use to be better than they are. It is a nuisance to the Public School because the boy will be above the rest of his class in French. He will have to mark time for a year.

In the High Schools of Bengal the trained teacher is continually faced with the same problem. He has learned geography and history better than most teachers, for he has done a year's extra work on the subjects. But what is the use of making a boy better than is necessary to pass the Matriculation in the first division?

The effect of the selective system is to produce a general low standard—an effective minimum.

No Improvement of Method—no Practical Methods.—Not only may a teacher have been trained to teach more, but he may have learned to teach better. He may have learned to teach English or French orally as well as in writing, to pay some attention to pronunciation. He may have been trained to introduce practical work into his geography. Examinations take no cognizance of such improvements. The improvements take up time, and there is no return for the time taken. Hence new methods, not fads, but methods which constitute genuine advances, are discouraged under the selective system. Trained teachers are not desired; they are actually unwelcome; they are said by the head masters to be "unpractical". This is true, for a good teacher

teaches too well for an examination, ninety per cent of whose candidates have been badly taught. The examination is adapted to the badly taught.

• The examination by its nature favours bad teaching. The testing of practical work is a difficult and expensive matter, and even when carried out well, unsatisfactory. Moreover, no examination can test the boy's power to learn for himself.

The Teacher in the Selective System.—The teacher thus becomes a slave of the examination. His business is to drive into the boys certain facts, certain acts of dexterity reproducible in the examination room. He is not asked to educate, to influence the boys by his own initiative. His course is made for him; novelty of method is forbidden him.

Either he becomes a drudge, or else he becomes a faddist. By means of a spurious methodology he introduces an interest into his dreary work. He dare do nothing drastic, for he cannot afford to risk the time. He excuses the useless subjects which he is teaching by means of the Faculty Theory. There is no reason for teaching complex sums in addition of fractions,—anyone but a fool would work it in decimals; there is no reason for learning the "figures of speech" for learning the domestic trials of Henry VIII in such detail—save that they are down in the examination. Examination is the true reason. But the drudge maintains his self-respect by telling himself that these things "train the mind," and that is why he teaches them—as a "trainer of the mind"!

No true teacher can live and teach the course prescribed in detail by another, by methods such that another can test the result. A teacher teaches his own course, and he teaches it in his own way. The course and the method are expressive of the teacher himself.

Hence they are real to the boys. They are self-expressive to the teacher: he puts his heart into them. That is the only teaching worth having. But in the selective system it is impossible.

The Effect of the Selective System on the Schools.—The whole young generation of the present must be put through the sieve so as to select the few gifted ones who are worthy of promotion in the social grading. It is obvious that the number of schools required is very great, for everybody must have a chance. This is a lottery for which the bare fact of being a citizen qualifies for admission. It is an actual injustice if anyone has no chance. When a school teaches subjects for their own worth there is no such talk of justice or injustice. If one town has Extension Lectures, it is fortunate: but the possession is no injustice to the next town, nor has the next town a "Right" to Extension Lectures. But every child has a right to a ticket in the lottery for high places; hence every town must have a school. Once the system starts it spreads like a weed. Schools grow up, not in response to a demand for learning but in response to the ambition of every child, the "Parent's Demand" of every parent. The lower classes want to rise. The upper classes want to maintain their position. The demand for education is spoken of as a great and glorious thing. It is as great and glorious as the desire for a ticket in the Calcutta sweepstake.

Then comes the idea that education must be free. It is to the advantage of the State to educate its citizens. And the citizens seem to feel that they are—in some mysterious way—conferring a favour upon the State by accepting the education. Why should they pay for what is accepted as a favour? Education must be free. The State gives the prize, the State is favoured by our enter-

ing for it; no one must be debarred by poverty from a ticket in the sweepstake.

• *The Quality of the Selective School.*—A good school is an expensive thing. Few countries can afford to give universal free secondary education and pay the price of good teachers.

The demand of the parents is that their boy shall be passed through the examination. Every boy cannot pass. Hence it pays the school to decide at a fairly early stage how many boys are certain to pass, how many are certain not to pass, and how many are doubtful. The certain passes may be left alone, for there is no point in making them too good. The certain failures may also be left, for labour spent on them is vain. The only boys who get energetic instruction are the doubtfuls.

Parents will not spend the money and the time of the boy, which has often a monetary value, on sending him to a school simply for the sake of culture and character. But where the teaching may lead to a chance of a lucrative employment, a rise in the social scale, they are prepared to send the boy to a school whose teaching they know to be indifferent, whose morality they may actually know to be bad—on the off-chance of success for the future. Thus the bad school obtains life.

• From the point of view of the Selector, the State requiring servants, the employer requiring employees, the worse the school is the better for them. The effective school is a nuisance. The examination is an instrument designed to pick out the best boy. If the examinees did not know that an examination was pending, but the test were sprung on them suddenly, no doubt the best boys would be selected. But it is known that an examination is coming. An examination demands a certain type of teaching. It is only reasonable that a good

school which knows it will be judged by its examination results, should give that teaching and give it well. But the better that teaching is, the more is it likely to conceal stupidity and make the mediocre boy appear good. The more effective the teaching, the more it frustrates the purpose of the examination. Hence the outcry against cram. "Cram" is the direct result of the examination. Kill the selective system and cram is dead. But leave the selective system and neither Training Colleges nor better pay for teachers will kill it. The better the teacher, the better he will "cram".

The standard of the examination tends to be that of the majority of the schools. The more bad schools there are, the lower will be the standard of the test.

The most strong-minded of Vice-Chancellors cannot set himself year after year to pluck more than 50 per cent of the candidates. Moreover, the influence of the schools in the University is very strong. There is the personal influence of relationship and friendships; there is the influence of mass opinion: the University cannot neglect the majority of opinion in the schools. But there is more than this, especially in the case of the purely examining University: there is actual pecuniary pressure. Continual drastic plucking will decrease the number of entrances and the number of fees. Either boys will not enter, or they will enter for some other easier examination. The Cambridge Local might supplant the Calcutta Matriculation, the Oxford Local might supplant the Cambridge Local—and so on. No doubt the value of the qualification will rise. But meanwhile the bank balance of the University would fall. The internal test can only admit a certain number of candidates, for there is only a limited amount of teaching accommodation. Increased demand would raise the standard, for

there would be a sterner competitive entrance test. But increased demand lowers the standard of the external test, because it is impossible for the examination to pluck more than a certain proportion. It is not fair that in one year 50 per cent should fail, in another year 80 per cent. Fifty per cent are plucked, where 75 per cent should have been. The standard drops. More incompetents gain hope. More bad schools see a chance. The process is repeated. The standard drops again.

Thus a multitude of inferior schools grow up. The good school languishes. For goodness is needed in the school, as in the boy, only up to the standard of the examination. Some schools are worse than others; that is the finish.

Summary.—Thus we see that this "most fundamental duty of the modern state," according to Bucher, produces what may be called a "selective system of education". The endeavour to select produces numerous schools, and bad schools; it tends to discourage improvement above the line of bare satisfactoriness. It produces bad teaching; it discourages good teaching. It tends always to a lowering of standard. •

These are serious accusations. Is the system really at fault? or are these minor defects of a system whose social effect is of such value as to counter-balance any lesser deficiencies?

Certainly it is of supreme importance to have the best man in the best place. Does the system achieve this aim?

The Social Effect of the Selective System.—Education is a training of memory, not in the sense of training verbal memory, or idea memory only. It is the making of impressions on the brain which last. Those impressions may be acts of skill, habits of thought or of action,

mere verbal reproductions, stocks of ill-digested ideas, or fully realized ideals.

It is clear that in the examination we cannot test such things as character, nor yet athletic ability. Only the more purely intellectual powers can be tested. Creative ability cannot be tested, except the mere journalistic power of hasty imagination to order. But knowledge can be tested, and knowledge is something. What sort of knowledge does the examination test?

Latham¹ distinguishes four kinds of memory:—

Portative—containing large elements of rote.

* *Analytical*—the memory of the lawyer which holds a temporary grasp of main points.

Assimilative—the memory of the scientist, which digests facts in the form of theories.

Index—the memory of "where it is".

Which of these are most useful for life? Certainly the last two. For the last two are the memories of the creative mind, a mind which does not cumber itself with what it does not need, but knows where to find what it needs, which automatically grasps relevancies to its own line of progress and rejects all that might hamper or mislead. The examination selects the portative memory and to a certain extent the analytical memory. A barrister's examinations are to a certain extent representative of the main professional quality. But the examination of a scientist is notoriously not so. Nor is that of a literary man, nor that of a statesman.

The examination tests common information, power to get up a subject, power of intensive study, speed of assimilation. It does not test common sense, degree of assimilation of a subject, power of applying a subject,

¹ Latham, "The Action of Examinations".

creative ability, power of research, business capacity, character.

Hence the complaint that not manhood but legal sharpness, not character, not even ability but mere-power of temporary acquisition of knowledge are the criteria of selective education. In this selection of the best man for the best post, by the very nature of the selection the best man is cut out. Whereas many a potential "good man" is spoiled.

The hope of a higher rung in the social ladder spreads education under false pretences. Omit this bribe and the sons of the ryot, if he took any education, would take an education suited to his needs. If it were not suited, he would not use it.¹ If there were no education suited to his needs he would ask for none, and the evils of unwanted education would be spared.

*The Déclassés.*²—The fundamental weakness of the selective system is that it may promote but it cannot de-grade. It is a lottery in which every one wins a prize. The State, the promoter, cannot afford this system.

A boy entering a selective system of education should say, "Teach me, test me, and place me as I deserve". Were this done the system would be admirable. The

¹ "But Mool Chand did not consider the formative influence of Gandeswar. He sent Siri Ram there as one invests a bit of money in a life insurance. As an F.A. he would be worth Rs. 30 per month, as B.A. from Rs. 50 to 80 any day in the week, whereas the whole profits of Mool Chand's land might be covered by Rs. 300 in a good year." ("Siri Ram, Revolutionist," Anon.)

² "Indeed for the few fortunate men of talent that classical education develops and removes with profit to themselves from their first surroundings, on how many mediocrities does it bestow habits and tastes incompatible with the humble station to which they must inevitably return. And because they have once left their natural sphere they are at a loss by what path to force their way into life, and rarely become other than ungrateful, discontented, unhappy beings." (Guizot, quoted in "Educational Foundations of Commerce and Industry," Fabian Ware, p. 159.)

right man would be in the right place every time, for the rich fool would be degraded to work suited to his intellect, and the wise poor man set at the head of affairs.

But once a boy embarks upon the course of secondary education and a University career, whether he be clever or a dolt, whether he works or wastes his time, he is permanently promoted. No power can put him back where he started. No amount of education can make the idle fool, once educated, into a sweeper. The mere fact of education, however misused, makes the sweeper into a clerk.

As a result we see all the evils of the *déclassés*, in over-crowded professions, in the physically weak, mentally inflated, unemployed "educated man," who is the gravest political danger of the day in every country of the world. This educational wastage is the stuff of which wild popular movements, second-rate journalism, ill-considered street-corner agitations are made. A democracy is a representation; it must be guided by the voice of the public. But those who represent least, who have least responsibility and least work to keep them silent, talk most, and drown the demands of the best by the babel of their tongues. They are a general danger because most Governments of the present are more or less democratic. Often the least democratic in form is the most democratic in act. For an honest bureaucracy can read more truly the wishes of the governed than the machine of party politics can voice it. But the clamour of the *déclassés* makes a true reading increasingly difficult.

They are dangerous because they are confident without cause. A premature low-standard qualification gives them the confidence of asserted omniscience. They are confident because they do not realize their defects—that their characters are unformed, their bodies ill-developed, their minds shallow. Their very defects blind them to

their defects. They are discontented because their own self-estimate is not appreciated and their powers not given the work they falsely believe them to deserve. Because they have not worked they do not realize the limitations of their powers. They are discontented and unbalanced most of all for purely physical reasons.¹ Their youth stunted by study beyond their low mental capacity, the stifled calls of the body for expression make them neurotic and variable in temperament, wavering between intense self-consciousness and the violence which comes of the attempt of incompetence to express itself.

The Fallacy.—Supposing that selective education could degrade as well as promote, would it then be a desirable method of national education?

It is based upon the assumption of a certain social grading. It assumes that there is a certain order of merit in vocations and a certain corresponding order of responsibility and of reward. As this order of merit exists in the occupations it is necessary to arrange in order the candidates for the occupations so that to the best vocation the best candidates may be allotted. In practice it works out that the professions are the "desirable vocations". The professions are themselves arranged in a certain order. Usually—

Lawyer.

Civil Servant.

Doctor.

Professor.

Journalist.

No doubt the order varies somewhat from time to time

¹ See Freud, "The Psychology of Dreams". Also Hart, "Insanity".

and from place to place. But the essential fact is that there is always an order. On what is this order based? Why are certain occupations considered better than others?

- The factors are—
1. Remuneration.
 2. Social esteem.
 3. Nature of the work—its self-expressiveness.

It is well known that the remuneration and the self-expressiveness or pleasantness of the work vary inversely. The pleasantest tasks are the worst paid—simply because a man, who can afford to do so, is willing to accept the pleasant task at small pay. This lowers the general rate of the profession. It follows clearly from this that the other two factors are closely inter-connected. The pleasant work which is badly paid is taken up by the man who can afford to pursue a less remunerative profession. The man of private means is in most cases one of the upper classes. Hence the pleasant badly paid profession tends to be frequented by the upper classes. In this way it gains social esteem as a profession, it becomes an "aristocratic calling". This attraction is added to the other two.

Then follows the democratic argument—that it is not compatible with the "rights of man" that all the most pleasant vocations should be preserves of the upper classes. This is not a claim of general utility or social advantage. It is the claim of an individual for a supposed right. Is it compatible with social well-being that an individual should have this claim satisfied? Is it consistent with the harmony and efficiency of society that any single member should be able to demand a chance of entering any calling for which he has a taste, supposing that he can also prove his aptitude?

It is of advantage to society that the man should be in the post for which he has special aptitudes. It is of the greatest disadvantage to society that the professions should be grossly over-crowded, that there should be a class of dangerous déclassés. It is even more disadvantageous that certain professions should progress by sapping the vitality of other no less but rather more important callings.

The professions are secondary. They are a superstructure built upon industry and agriculture. The professions might be cut down by one-half, might be totally abolished, but the community would not come to an end. They are not directly productive. If industry and agriculture were abolished the professions would automatically vanish. In fact, the recruiting of the professions by selection of the best from other callings is nothing else than a process of building by quarrying the foundation-stones to obtain material for the superstructure.

It may be urged that agriculture is not depleted by the removal of a boy who has a special gift for medicine. For the boy's special gifts are likely to make him an inefficient farmer, whereas they will make him a most valuable physician. To prevent the boy seeking his natural calling, to keep him forcibly in work for which he is unfitted, is as wasteful as if we were to set a successful Harley Street physician to till the ground.

There are two replies to this argument. The first is one which has already been made. The removal of the farmer's boy of special medical gifts from farming would be no disadvantage to agriculture, if the doctor's boy of special agricultural gifts but no medical gifts were put into agriculture. But as the process works one way only, the medical profession is the gainer, and agriculture is

the loser every time, even if that boy be only an inferior worker. Is the loss only of an incompetent?

Under a system of apprenticeship the boy of a medical "kind" would be selected. But the selection is not made by direct suitability to the particular work; it is made by means of general tests. Therefore what is tested is not peculiar adaptation but general ability. It is extremely likely if not absolutely certain that the supposed incompetent farmer of medical gifts would prove incompetent in his general examinations. The selective system does not select special gifts; it selects general ability. It selects all the general ability from every vocation for the benefit of a favoured few occupations. The effect of this on the unfavoured is obvious.

When a vocation reaches a certain degree of development it becomes self-expressive. A man of intelligence could not endure the work of an Indian Kaviraj, whereas he would find pleasure and interest in the duties of a European physician. The keeping of a petty retail shop is a poor calling for a man of intellectual gifts; the management of a Selfridge's or Harrod's stores would give him scope to use himself and to express himself.

Before a vocation can become attractive to men of intellect, it must reach a certain stage of development. That stage of development is reached by the efforts of men of general high ability who "make the profession into something". They express themselves in it. They make it into something which is attractive to other men like themselves. If the men of general ability are continually selected away from a certain vocation, it is very clear that the profession cannot develop—and in a vicious circle its lack of development drives away the men who should be endeavouring to develop it. Whereas our whole effort should be to keep such men there.

It is from the primary vocations, those on which not merely the well-being but the existence of a society depends, on whose prosperity the existence of the professions themselves depends, that the men of ability are being steadily and relentlessly drawn away. These vocations in consequence become unintelligent callings; being such they are despised. Year by year they become the home of those who have not the energy or the hope to rise, or the sink of the fallen.

German Continuation Schools.—We see in the Continental Continuation School¹ a different policy. The school does not provide a training whereby the chimney-sweeper may rise from his calling to become an engineer. It provides for the child of the chimney-sweeper (an actual case) a training in the science and art of his work so that he may make of his vocation a self-expressive thing, and making it self-expressive may raise the standard of knowledge and skill in the calling—a result very beneficial to the prosperity of the country itself. Undeveloped fields are developed, new processes come into being in fields despised and unstudied heretofore.

The Philosophic Aspect.—We have heard much of late of the excellence of German institutions, so much as to nauseate, such praise as to compel suspicions that there is something wrong at the root, and these successes are cankerous flowers.

The above system sounds very excellent, but is it practical? Supposing that a school of this kind were started in Birmingham, or in Calcutta, would it work? Would the sweeper be willing to be educated as a sweeper? He would argue as he does argue—"What is

¹ Best and Ogden, "The Problem of the Continuation School".

the use of education if it makes me nothing better than I am?"

Kerschensteiner's system of Continuation Schools, like many other excellent German educational systems, is backed by the valuable instrument of conscription. We may prescribe and carry into practice whatever system of education we consider best for the country at large if we can compel the individuals who make up that country to accept the education. But the interests of the country and the interests of the individual are very far apart. The individual wishes to rise into a profession which is already made, already self-expressive and socially esteemed. The making of a profession is a work whose reward falls to a later generation. It is uphill work, and the same energy and ability might in another sphere bring present success and honour.

Conclusion.—Let us suppose that there is no State-aided or free education, how, by a law of natural supply and demand, does the process of redistribution work out? From whom are the professions recruited?

The professions are recruited from the sons of the wealthy. A man makes money in trade, industry, or perhaps on the land. He wishes his son to follow a profession which bears greater social esteem, and whose work is more congenial. It may not be highly paid: the pay is a minor consideration. It is quite possible that it barely pays a decent interest on the cost of education. In this way the wealth of the rich is, as it were, returned to the community in the form of unrewarded or under-rewarded services. But the work is an honour and a privilege; the work by which the father has raised himself is recognized by his elevation and the elevation of his son into the professional classes.

We must distinguish clearly two distinct educational

factors. Failure to distinguish them is responsible for a great many of our difficulties. There is the demand to educate and the demand for education. No one, or very very few, demand education for its own sake. The demand for education is a demand for what education can bring: it is a demand for a ticket in the lottery. There is no reason why this should be given free: there is no reason why one penny should be contributed towards its cost. A man who wishes to rise must rise by his own effort by raising his work. It is a most dangerous policy for the State to tamper with individual effort and its motives. It is a dangerous policy to give that for which people would and should pay. It is a dangerous policy to give that as a Right which should be a Reward.

Mechanism.—A man must qualify for having an opportunity to rise. An opportunity is a privilege. It is costly to the State: it involves risks to the State. It is not enough for a man to say, "I am as good as you. I have as great a right to a chance of rising as you have." This is a fallacy of the philosophy of the mechanist age which is now happily passing away. The mechanist philosophy thinks of man in terms of the science and mathematics whereby the physical world is measured and subdued. One equals one. A man, a citizen is a standard unit. One man equals one man. Hence all men have equal rights. But the unit man is a mental abstraction; it represents nothing. Men are not (save considered as masses of tissue) uniform. Man cannot be added, multiplied, subtracted, generalized. A man *may* have rights. Man as man has no more rights than are inherent in the negative definition which distinguishes him from a monkey.

It is a fallacy of the mechanist age to neglect heredity, to neglect the immeasurable qualities of a man. The tendency is to think of him as an employee whose work

can be expressed in units. That quality which cannot be measured and expressed is neglected in the mechanist philosophy.¹

Hence the mechanist philosophers are not prepared to assent to the truism, that a man may be intellectually fit for a particular post, but that his character, his temperament, perhaps his breeding, do not justify his appointment.

None but the mechanist would believe that the quality of man may be measured and numerically expressed in terms of work. This is the hypothesis of examinations. It is the view of the employer who regards men as machines producing articles of trade. Whereas men are incomparable: one man's superiority to another's is immeasurable; it is not ten nor a hundred nor a million times. The one unit cannot be divided into the other any more than red can be divided into blue. One man cannot be expressed in terms of another.

What appearance must the mechanist idea present to a people whose minds have been formed for generations under a caste system? All men are equal and interchangeable units; whereas we can see around us countless differences, not surface differences due to kind of life or accident of environment, but fundamental disparities of race, manifested in different physical appearance, different ways of thought, different tastes, different ideals, different moral codes. Has the mechanist system worked so well in Europe that it justifies its introduction under circumstances so widely different. After all, what is born in a man is the main thing. This is just what the selective system neglects. Is not the Eastern system almost as right as the Western? The selective system

¹ Veblen, "Theory of Business Enterprise". The whole is good, and especially the last three chapters.

has not been introduced.¹ It has introduced itself. It is the "natural education". It is the natural fungus of education.

• This theory of men as units, equivalent in virtue of their humanity, is to the mind of the East utterly unthinkable. In the population of England such differences of blood as exist have been smoothed out by inter-breeding. In India these racial and rival differences exist as water-tight compartments. They represent in most cases not merely differences of blood, but the verdict also of past history. They represent victor and vanquished, leader and lead. The victor and the leader have married only with victor and leader. By subdivision in the upper classes, by selection from the lower, minor classifications have entered, until society is arranged in a minutely detailed order of precedence.² This order is not merely accepted without question by the higher grades, but also for the most part by the lower, for it represents to the lower a difference of function. Caste, whether right or wrong, represents a definite and positive social system, wherein each has his work to do in the scheme of general well-being. In Selection each scrambles for his own well-being. Apprenticeship and the guild are the natural outcome of social feelings. Selective education is the education which naturally evolves itself out of individual ambition and human selfishness if left to itself without a check.

Necessary Selection.—As a system selective education is wholly undesirable. Yet selection is necessary. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the vices of the system were fully realized, and that the bulk of the edu-

¹ Chailley, "Administrative Problems of British India," Bk. II, chap. vii., especially p. 550.

² *Ibid.*, op. cit. Bk. I, chap. vi. "Hindu Castes and Sects," Bhattacharya, chaps. i.-iv.

cation in the country was of a different kind. It is still necessary to recruit, not universally but, from a limited group, the official and professional classes. Is it possible that some of the evils which we have found may be due not to the nature of the system but to the particular method of carrying it out? Can a more effective method of selection be devised whereby a more suitable man may be chosen. At the same time can the process be prevented from exercising the evil influence noted already?

By Warping of the Examinations.—(1) These advantages may be obtained by a system of limited selection. The selective test is so arranged that only a certain type of candidate has a chance in the competition. The examinees are pre-selected, since special encouragement is given to a certain type only to enter. Of those who enter all are probably very suitable. The examination merely removes the responsibility of the final choice from any single person. Very likely, if the examination list were reversed, those at the bottom would prove just as good as, or better men than those at the top, in the practical affairs of life. Pre-selection may be made by introducing a special subject into the syllabus.

Thus in the Matriculation Examination the demand for a high standard in English Literature in a pre-university examination would give a considerable advantage to Scotch boys, because literature is more carefully studied in the early stages of Scotch education than in those of English education. The effect is not to give a direct advantage to a special race or class, but to give an advantage to the product of a special educational institution or group of institutions. The students attending that institution are of a certain class; in this way the class is given an advantage. For example, the English

Public School boy is required in the Civil Service and the Foreign Office. Hence the examination is so arranged as to subjects, and the marks so allotted amongst the subjects, that the Public School boy's curriculum is of great service. A boy of any other institution needs to be of exceptional abilities and to have undergone a long course of very specialized cramming in order to pass the tests. The Public Schools are recruited from a certain social grade. The boys have upper middle class blood and traditions. The examiners in giving an advantage to the Public-School-University boy are not showing a special favour to the Public Schools and the older universities as places of education, considering them better than the secondary school and the newer university. They may prefer them or they may not. They are showing a desire to get the type of boy who goes to those institutions, of which ideals these institutions are very largely embodiments. They consider that type of boy is specially suited to the work required.

Warping of the Examination: (2) by Absence of Set Subject.—The special subject of the examiner is always met by the special cramming on the part of the teacher. Its effect is only temporary. If all the sons of lawyers were learning Sanskrit and the Civil Service examiners believed that the sons of lawyers were specially suited to their requirements, the inclusion of Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in the examination would have the effect of selecting nothing but sons of lawyers. But in a very short time Sanskrit would be included in other schools, and would be crammed up as a special subject for the Civil Service examination.

A far more effective limitation consists in absence of set books, absence even of delimitation of the subject. A certain class of schools teaches in a certain way. Public

school Classics have a form of their own, known only to the Public School teacher. Primary school English has very definite characteristics, so also secondary school mathematics. If a secondary school teacher were asked to set a paper on mathematics he would unconsciously produce a paper of very marked special characteristics. He would unconsciously give a tremendous advantage to the boy of his own type of institution. A boy from another type of school might not fail to do the paper, but he would not use the same methods; he would not do so well on the points most emphasized by the tradition of the examiner as would the examiner's own pupil.

A vague subject may be set without intention of institutional favouritism. The result is identical. An institution grows up and becomes favourite.

This is a limitation which cannot be met by cramming. For the type of teaching is enclosed in the atmosphere and the tradition of the particular set of schools. The only thing is to send the boy to one of those schools.

The limitation is not exclusive, and moreover it is dangerous. If we wish to catch a boy of certain class the effect is to make the boys of other classes force their way into the school belonging to that class. They cannot be kept out. The result is a swelling of those schools, and perhaps a spoiling of their tradition. Left to themselves they embody a class ideal; being thus specialized in tone, they are not desired by those whose ideals they do not embody. The addition of this inducement forces in those who are not adapted to the schools, who do not desire the schools for what they are, but for what they lead to. And the alien element, excellent in itself, abolishes the special nature of the schools. Thus the system defeats itself.

(3) *By Cost of Education.*—There is at the present

moment a considerable pre-selection in most of the examinations in England. The course which leads up to the examination is an expensive one. A boy whose parents are really poor can hardly enter for medicine or for the I.C.S. or for law. The boy's earning is long delayed, the period of educational expense is very long. Naturally, the longer the period, the greater the expense. In this way it is assured that the boy who is entering for professional life, the pay of which is lower while the expenses are higher than in an industrial or commercial career, has probably some inherited income, or at any rate comes of moneyed parents. In certain cases there is no such selection. A system of scholarships permits a boy of very limited means to study for the expensive vocations. This is especially the case in India. Education is so cheap that a merely nominal capital is required to launch a boy into a profession. Is this desirable?

We pointed out that the professional work is normally an earned privilege; it is rather a means whereby accumulated wealth is returned to society in the form of underpaid labour, than a method of obtaining a high dividend upon educational expenditure. In many if not in most of the professions it is almost assumed that there is a small private income, that under ordinary circumstances the earnings of the work will not suffice for marriage and the up-bringing of a family. There are of course cases of great financial success in medicine and in law. But in most cases the chief value of the success is the social value. The success which a doctor works for is fame as well as money. Whereas the business man's success is primarily a fortune. After amassing the fortune, very often he proceeds to get fame, perhaps by making his son a professional success.

Socially then it is desirable that there should be a strict

pre-selection by wealth. The education for the professions should cost so much that the poor man cannot easily enter. The professions must not be made a field for money-getting. Nor should so great a responsibility be conferred merely on the basis of examination-aptitude without a record of family ability and probity. Wealth is a poor measure of this. But it may be the best measure we have got.

The great specialized talents have a way of finding their proper sphere ; difficulties bear them up. The bulk of those who desire to make their way into the professional class have no such special talents. The proper localization of great talents would be an advantage to society. But the bulk of these candidates are not of such merit that society is in any way interested in their rise. Rather the disturbance of the social order is a disadvantage. If a man wishes to give his son special opportunities, he must be prepared to indemnify society for his exceptional treatment. He must pay the full price for the advantage, and that price should be a high one. We cannot afford to have the professions educated on the cheap. And there is no reason why anybody except the recipient should pay.

(4) *By Nomination*.—The best measure of a man is the judgment of another man. Other methods are probabilities : they are merely the selection of a man from a certain class by requiring some characteristic of that class in the candidate. It is as if in appointing a new employee one were to go into the Public Schools Club or into a low pot-house. One would be more likely, picking at random, to get a good man in the club than in the open street ; one would be more likely to get an undesirable in the pot-house than in the open street. Yet it is perfectly possible that from the club one *might* hit on

a scoundrel, and in the pot-house one *might* hit on a first-rate man.

- By nomination a man is recommended according to his own qualities; he is not a probability but a definite statement.

Nomination as a Limitation of Selection.—Appointment by direct nomination opens the door to unscrupulous patronage. Nomination as a limitation of selection is a better method. Before the candidate is admitted to the competition it is necessary that a responsible person should speak for his character, his physique, his temperament. This ensures that the purpose of the examination shall not be thwarted by the crammer's freak-product.

This system obtains in the Foreign Office examination. It will be observed that the nomination is of a purely negative order, or rather it tends to become so. The candidate is not definitely recommended for the post, he is merely recommended for the examination.

The nomination merely says that a man is not so obviously unsuited for the appointment that he should not even be allowed to compete for it. The opposite is more than one would care to say, even of the weakest of one's pupils.

The negative nomination tends to become merely formal. No one will take the responsibility of condemnation. If this responsibility is confined to a few persons of known judgment it is impossible for the nominators to have a close and long personal acquaintance with the candidate, such as would justify them in a rejection. They dare not reject on so limited a knowledge. If the power of nomination is given more widely, for example, to the head masters of schools, then the authorities have insufficient knowledge of the nominators to justify implicit reliance on their judgment.

Positive Nomination.—It is obvious that the question, "Which boy is suitable for this post?" is a far less individious one than, "Is this boy suitable for the post?" For in the first question the unsuitable boy may be passed over in silence. It is not necessary to incur the odium of condemnation. Still less difficult is the question, "Which are the four best boys in your school for the post?" This has the disadvantage that there may be five boys suitable, whereas only four are recommended. It has the advantage that the nominator may make his choice freely, and the selection does not degenerate into a mere form.

The conferring upon certain schools of the right to nominate a certain number of candidates has very obvious advantages as a system. The nomination is made on the basis of long and close personal knowledge. It can measure any quality on which the authorities desire to insist—character, power of command, athletic ability. Because the number is limited there is likely to be competition. Hence there must be positive choice, instead of, as in individual nomination, mere assent. Choice cannot become formal. There is a valuable check in the fact that an unsuitable nomination may be punished by further limitation of the number to be nominated.

The strength of the system lies in the fact that the good school is encouraged and is left free to educate according to its own ideas, and in the fact that the selection is personal and responsible.

The weakness of this system consists in the fact that all four places must be filled up. Where there are only three candidates up to standard it is more than probable that a fourth will still be elected. It would be very difficult for a head master to refuse to fill the fourth place especially knowing that other head masters are filling

the fourth place under similar circumstances. But the unsuitable fourth man might be ruled out by a subsequent examination. The weakness of the system lies in the fact that it merely puts back the direct personal nomination. Instead of nominating the boy, the employer nominates the nominator, viz. the school. In the nomination of the school all the dangers previously noted again arise. There is the danger either of partisanship and favouritism, or else of mere formality, so that every school of passable merit is "assented to".

Summary.—Selection is necessary in certain cases. But the open examination is the most ineffective method of selection. No warping of the examination so as automatically to obtain pre-selected entries is effective. Nomination remains. Negative nomination becomes formal because the responsibility of refusal is avoided. Positive nomination is effective if the number to be nominated is limited so as to make choice necessary.

Conclusion.—We have seen how a very small part of the work of education, namely, selection for the professions, by the natural action of individual ambition, works through and corrupts the whole educational system, and at the same time causes social unrest and danger.

We find that free selection is based upon a mistaken interpretation of democracy. That in any case it is an ineffective method of selection for it does not select the best. Seeing that some selection is necessary we inquired how that selection might be made without disturbance of the rest of the educational system. Direct nomination by approved schools appears to be the most effective method. But the question is still left open as to the aim of the educational system, as to the nature of the schools to which this direct nomination is made.

CHAPTER II.

SPECIFIC EDUCATION.

*Definition.*¹—Specific education aims at providing a training specially designed so as to prepare a man for the work of a certain vocation.

It is distinguished from selective education in that the curriculum is not general so as to *select* for the work, but a special preparation for the work. It assumes previous selection. It is not to be confused with technical education, for it is not necessarily technical. Any vocation requires more than a certain minimum of skill; it requires character, physique, some liberal tastes and interests. Whatever is required in the vocation is included in the training, or should be included. An unwise exclusiveness in the division between "Liberal" and "Technical," an unjustified narrowing of the term technical so as to include only the vocational skill of a calling, has resulted in a good deal of misapprehension and fruitless argument. If we free our minds from doctrines of "Faculty Training" and from ideas of "Selective Education," this is the natural, we would say the obvious, form of training left. Let the schools teach whatever is required in the child's later life—the skill, the character, the physique, the social pastimes, the civics, the ethics.

*The Psychological Basis of Specific Education.*²—The

¹ Adams, "Evolution of Educational Theory".

² *Ibid.*, p. 371. West, "Education and Psychology," chap. xxxi.

specific argument rests first upon a denial of the faculty theory. The brain is not a collection of intellectual departments; it is a single though composite organ endowed with the power of retention. Past experience, whether of idea or of act, is recorded in the brain. It is recorded as it was experienced. It has no (or a negligible) general effect as a training. It is therefore useless to teach a formal set of "mind" or "brain-developing exercises". The formality of the exercises makes them of no inherent value. Their effect is not generalized. Let us therefore consider what it is we want to teach, what is of inherent value, and teach those things. The child has to be a worker, a citizen, and a man of leisure. For each of these aspects of his life a special training is needed.

The Pragmatic Argument.—The specific argument rests secondly on the Pragmatic view of the functions of intellect. The brain is an organ of the body: its function is to direct the movements of the body. The brain is an organ of life. Life is action. The function of brain is to direct action. Thought is true, when it leads to correct, that is, *effective* action. If it leads to wrongly adjusted action it is untrue.¹

The education of the present aims at intellect as a thing of inherent value: it sets up the possession of truth as an ultimate aim, whereas action is the only standard of truth.¹ The intellectual education of the present neglects action. It teaches the child to know, but not to do. Knowledge without action is useless. The brain developed without regard to the body is an abnormality: it cannot be healthy; in any case it is useless. Children must be taught to do as well as to know. If a child is to act, let it be the most real action.

¹Dewey, "The School and the Child". James, "Pragmatism". Darroch, "Education and the New Utilitarianism".

That action is most real, most expressive, and most effective which is most in touch with life. Education should then be action, and the action should bear on life.

The Argument for Social Organization.—Another school of supporters of Specific Education makes out of a two-edged plea. Education, they say, is too uniform: it results in machine-made products.¹ The old diversity of local and individual character is being destroyed. The tales of Thomas Hardy, and the characters of Dickens' are yearly becoming more impossible. In one way this is good. Education should supply a common basis for national life. But a nation does not consist of a collection of standard units. There is a basis of similarity in character and general ideals. There is an organized differentiation² in work and in personal ideals. A state is a complex organism. The citizen must be educated in order that he may be assimilated to that organism as a whole. But education must also differentiate him, so as to fit him into a particular part of the organism. In general character he must be made British; in powers and skill he must be made one of a certain class—a plumber or a carpenter. Every trade requires a special form of character; the work of a factory-hand needs patience, perseverance, steadiness, enough ambition to act as an incentive in the work, not enough to encourage the worker to leave it.³

Our educational system should produce organization of the State. Competition, becoming more acute in the business world, has produced organized specialization in the shops and the factory. The world to-day is a business world, and nations are competing business

¹ Holmes, "What is and What Might Be".

² Hughes, "Making of Citizens," p. 201.

³ Adams, "Evolution of Educational Theory," p. 367.

politics. If a nation is not to be beaten in the combat it must organize itself.¹

The Political Argument.—Anatole France in "The Aspirations of Jules Servien" illustrates the dangers of non-selective education: the novel directly traces the disturbances of the Commune to the crowd of disaffected Baccalaureates. Many of the phrases of this book seem almost echoed in Bamphylid Fuller's "Indian Life and Sentiment," and still more so in the recent report on the Administration of Bengal. Out of the sense of the danger of the disappointed class in France arose the movement for the reconstruction of French education. The obvious opposite of the selective system is the specific.² A specific educational organization was to be achieved in France by the method of gaps. Let a boy start in a certain school; from that school he can proceed a certain distance and no further. He reaches a chasm; he cannot pass from the primary system intended to produce the ordinary manual labourer³ to the higher system from which Government posts are recruited, nor yet, as once Jules Servien aspired, can he aspire to pass thither. The effect of such an organization as this is to produce in the lower grade, at any rate, a specific training. Hence the presence of such a subject as agriculture⁴ in the French primary school, and the existence of numerous lower grade technical institutions, which would correspond to the Indian "Artisan School". The French schools are to be ends in themselves; they are not to be preparatory. Even those few who proceed to

¹ Carlton, "Education for Efficiency".

² Fabian Ware, "Educational Foundations of Commerce and Industry," p. 153. Cloudesley Brereton, "Spec. Reports: Education in France," p. 18.

³ Specialist subjects in the primary school have of late met with less approval. Hughes, op. cit. p. 118.

a higher technical institution study the same course as the ordinary pupil. Contrast the Artisan School in Bengal: in many of the schools the bulk of the pupils are studying the Survey course, which is of quite a different character from the curriculum which is the real purpose of the school.

A similar attempt is made in German education. The education of the populace is kept distinct from that of the upper classes. The authorities endeavour to render passage from the lower schools to the career leading to professional or Government employment as difficult as possible.¹ If then the lower classes are not educating themselves in hopes of rising, they must be educating themselves for staying where they are, i.e. for their own hereditary employments, or for employments of the same genus. The German policy is perhaps more thorough, since it endeavours to make allowance for the aspirations of the Jules Servien in another direction, though it checks them in their former course. While Jules is forbidden to raise himself in the world, he is encouraged to raise his employment, and from laundry-man to make himself linen-specialist with some knowledge of the science of his work.² Undoubtedly this policy has been of advantage to the trade of the country; it has given encouragement and assistance towards the development of new industries, or such an improvement of process in menial tasks as to give the German a monopoly of efficiency in them. But in the bulk of instances the hope offered must be delusive. There is little that the factory employee can learn which will make his work more intelligent and expressive, and at the same time

¹ Fabian Ware, *op. cit.* p. 180.

² Best and Ogden, "Problem of the Continuation School". Kerschesteiner, "The Continuation School".

will not teach him to hope higher. The French system bids the labourer "stay where you are"; the German, "stay where you are, and make the best of it". In practice the two systems amount to the same thing,¹ and both have the disadvantage, that the human race cares little for "staying where it is". Had it cared to do so, we should still be in the tree-tops.

The Colonial Aspect.—The educational organization² in a colony will be determined by the dominant interest in the colonizer's mind. This interest may be one of three. The main aim may be—

1. Social stability, or
2. Trade, or
3. Social development.

Class aspirations, as found in France, are dangerous to social stability. If the intelligent classes, as they are found, are given a reasonable share in the work of Government, dissatisfaction need not be feared from them. Such dissatisfaction as may exist will take the form of jealousy by the lower of the highest class. So long as the ruling class does not misuse its privileges, the jealousy will take no serious form. It is to the advantage of the colonizing nation to see that the privileges are not misused. In the meanwhile the upper class acts as a buffer between them and any temporary mass discontent. Under these conditions any large extension of the upper class is a serious social menace. It means that there are a number of persons who expect the privileges of participation in Government, but are of necessity disappointed. Their first tendency is to blame the existing Government, to look with jealousy on its members, just as the classes below look with jealousy on

¹ Hughes, "Making of Citizens," p. 8, suspects that the barriers in German education are proving increasingly ineffective.

² Reinsch, "Colonial Administration," chap. ii.

the upper class. Such extension of the upper class may come about in one of two ways :—

1. By promotion from the lower classes ;
2. By physical multiplication of the higher classes.

The latter cause is alone insufficient. Increase of wealth among the upper classes consequent on peaceful and effective government is likely in tropical countries to cause a breeding up to the limits of the previous standard of comfort. The increase in size of Government machinery, development of the professions as an alternative outlet, provide accommodation for this increase, so long as the original class is not extended by outside recruiting.

It is therefore the clear policy of the Colonist to provide—

1. An education for the upper classes to fit them for their duties of Government (since the requirements of the new Government are beyond any traditional knowledge they possess).

2. To provide for the remainder of the population a specific training, which will fit them and encourage them to remain in their present vocation. This is the distinct tone of the whole of the Government of India's Despatches of 1854. The policy fails in that there is no restriction to the entrance into "Class 1" education. The schools of the upper classes are not exclusive, requiring a birth qualification as a Chiefs' College requires it. Nor yet are they exclusive in the matter of expense, for there are missionary colleges in competition, and moreover, the schools started by private enterprise. The policy is justifiable and intelligible on the positive side; on the negative side it is impossible, because there is no check to the "selective cancer," and because there could be no effective check. It would be impossible to limit the secondary system to this or that caste. Were it limited,

the limitation could not be effective on so large a scale. A Chiefs' College may be limited, for there are few colleges and few chiefs, and a chief is a chief. But when one deals with so vague a term as "upper class," or even as "upper castes," so many schools and so many pupils, it would be impossible to draw the line. Limitation by expense would be a more plausible proposal, but it would not achieve the end desired. India was not then nor is now a "plutocratic" country, nor is the majesty of wealth understood in it. The mahajan may be rich, but he is a mahajan. The country would never consent to be governed by him.

Thus the specific view of colonial education fails in the first place not as a theory, but in practice. It fails because it leaves out of account human ambitions. This defect is inherent in the theory. As a theory it is a compromise; it is neither frankly radical nor yet frankly conservative. It admits the right of the country to bear its share in the work of the Government, but it admits only the aristocracy. It is an education of the rulers. It does not aim at educating the country as a whole, so that one day it may develop the power of self-government. The defence may be urged that the country as a whole is educated by education of the upper classes. They act as intermediaries and pass on the culture to leaven the mass. No doubt they should. But they are a governing caste. They wish to remain so. The teaching they pass on will not be the teaching in the art of government-which was given to them, but the lesson of the obedience which they hope to receive. It cannot be expected that an aristocracy will hand on to the masses of whom they have charge lessons of democracy. Two views remain, the purely egoistic of German politics, and the altruistic view of English politics.

The German View of Colonial Education.—The German view of colonization, as expressed by Reinsch,¹ adopts frankly the egoistic aspect. A Colony is a weak nation or people which is unable to make proper use of its opportunities. If they could use them themselves they would be able to keep others from them. They cannot use their resources, therefore they have not the right to possess them nor the right to keep others from using them. The use of these resources is necessary; for the vast population of Europe must call in the world to support it. It cannot afford to respect the selfish obstructiveness of insignificant tribes. This is entirely in tune with the Nietzschean philosophy of German state-craft. The attitude towards the people of the Colony is of a similar kind. Let the land be used according to its productive value, and strictly for that purpose; so also the people. Where the country is healthy, and the aboriginal tribe useless as labour and not difficult to efface by warfare, the Colony should be made a German habitation. But there are cases where this policy would not pay. In a country ill-suited to Europeans the native labour is valuable. It should be kept as labour. So far as it is educated, it should be educated as labour. Thus a low-grade technical training might in some cases be given to produce the low-skilled labourer. But in the main the native is not valuable as a skilled labourer, and it is better to recruit from the Fatherland. It will be noticed that there is here no idea of developing the indigenous trade of the country. The process is one of exploitation. It is not slave exploitation, because, as Reinsch points out, slavery does not pay. But methods of compulsion no doubt enter where necessary.

¹ Reinsch, "Colonial Government," "Colonial Administration," "World Politics" (The Macmillan Co., U.S.A.).

A third case is considered—where the civilization of the country occupied is somewhat developed. Here the Colony is worth consideration as a market, and some education is desirable so as to increase and cultivate the needs of the people.

Reinsch discusses the Russian and the British method of colonization, and approves of the Russian. The British, he says, are an industrial nation; they tend therefore, by the natural assimilative impulse which is the chief danger of the colonial politician, to develop productive industrial life in the Colony. Such industrial development involves profound social changes; the organization of cities, the breaking down of the previous national life. The Russian method destroys the tribe because it is dangerous, but it leaves national custom untouched; it develops the village and makes it the unit of administration. This policy is possible because the economic condition of the people is not disturbed. Russian colonization may be described simply as a spread of non-intensive cultivation.

The German colonial policy consists in development of the colony as a market for home manufactures and as a productive concern turning out the raw materials of home manufacture. The system of education should be such as is valuable

1. in increasing the needs of the people;
2. in instilling industrious habits and modern methods of cultivation.

With regard to the former it is doubtful how far school education can have any effect. Is it not more than possible that the imported articles themselves have a far more profound effect than any school? The sewing-machine, the typewriter, the Primus stove are themselves educative forces. They evoke a certain amount.

of mechanical intelligence in the user; they open his mind to other labour- and trouble-saving devices; they lay the foundations of an idea of comfort.¹

For the second purpose the school is very ill-suited. Industrial schools do no doubt inculcate habits of industry. But an industrial school is a very expensive luxury. The ordinary primary school may set mottoes from Carlyle on the walls, but in a tropical climate its whole curriculum teaches the immense attractiveness of any sort of work which keeps one quiet under a roof during the heat of the day in contrast to any sort of manual, and above all out-of-door manual, labour.²

Industry is learned by being industrious, and a *corvée* or loan system is the most effective means yet invented for compelling industry. Undoubtedly "corrugated civilization"³ does teach the virtue of labour. The worst of it is that it removes other virtues at the same time, the virtues of freedom, the virtues which lead to spontaneous willing labour—the only kind of labour which economically or ethically is of any value.⁴

The result is that in this system of government it is difficult to find a place for education at all.

The English Mode of Specific Education for Industrial Development.—The theory of English colonial government is based on the hope that at some future date the Colony will be able to stand alone as an independent and

¹ Bevan, "Indian Nationalism".

² "Special Reports: Education in Livingstonia."

³ Reinsch, "Colonial Administration," quotes an article by the Rev. Usher Wilson ("Fortnightly Review," Aug., 1903) on the Chinese labour problem. "Under our corrugated iron sheds they shall learn the Christian virtue of industry." Reinsch adds, "Hurrah for our corrugated civilization!"

⁴ Bucher, "Industrial Evolution," pp. 280, 305, 317. Preston, "Decline of Empires," chapters "Babylon" and "Greece".

self-supporting unit of the Empire.¹ Self-government may come by general education of public opinion (the Indian Moderates' view), or by education of a small number of men capable of governing (the view of the Extremists).

Supposing an intelligent public opinion in India, and a body of honest and capable Indian rulers whose rule would be accepted by all sections of the community, would India be self-governing? Self-governing it might be, but independent, self-supporting, certainly not.²

India is at present governed by the greatest banker of the world. Its greatest need is of a banker.³ If India is at some future date to be self-governing, it must be able not merely to maintain order in its own borders, but maintain its place also among the nations of the world. In its present condition it cannot do this; it has not the money. It has not the economic development.

It is not enough, therefore, either to educate public opinion, as one section demands, or to educate rulers, as another section demands; it is necessary to educate for economic development. An additional reason for this is found in the fact that should India ever govern itself, it will not be the debaters but the industrial leaders, the men of business who have learned to obey and be obeyed, to respect figures,⁴ to act much and talk little, who will

¹ The author of "Siri Ram, Revolutionist," denies this of India. But he uses as argument an analogy which might equally be applied to Canada or to Wales. "Would a zemindar say to his tenants, 'You are capable of managing yourselves now, therefore I retire'." From the whole tendency of modern land legislation it seems as if he might. See the Rural Administration Minority Report, 1913. On this point see B. C. Pal, "Nationalism and Empire"—on the whole a very sensible exposition.

² Bevan, "Indian Nationalism".

³ Mitra, "Indian Problems," chap. xi., also p. 307.

⁴ Mitra, quoting the speeches of a well-known Congress leader: "The public have not the time to verify intricate calculations nor to follow the

govern. Nowadays the work of government requires business men. When such men have been produced, both the men and the economic conditions will have been found which make self-government possible.

This is the view of the problem of "Indian Nationalism" as expounded by Bevan.¹

Its educational bearing is that specific education for industrial development is a necessary part of the Imperial ideal.

Summary.—We find three main arguments advanced for specific industrial education :—

1. *The Psychological and Philosophic Argument.*—The brain is for action: therefore let the education be a specific preparation for the actions which will make up the life of the man. These acts are not necessarily industrial; they may be agricultural or of any vocation, but the education will be specific.

2. *The Social Argument.*—In the interests of social stability each man should be taught not envy of another's occupation, but the means of developing his own occupation into a self-expressive science and art.

The third argument is of a different nature :—

3. *The Colonial Argument.*—(We dismiss the egoistic view of the Colony as a mere asset in the trade of the mother-country.) A self-governing Colony must be economically sound. Economic development is therefore a part of the Imperial ideal; education must do what it can towards it.

Let us examine the various proposals which from time to time have been made for specific education in India. The most interesting are :—

writer on Indian economics through the maze of his figures". Mitra comments: "People who have no time to verify intricate calculations have not the right to complain if thoughtful men decline to listen to them".

¹ Bevan, "Indian Nationalism".

1. Chatterton's proposals and experiments in Madras. (Much of this work was not strictly "educational".)
2. The numerous proposals which have been made from time to time (e.g. by Coomorswamy) for revival of apprenticeship.
3. The present system of artisan schools and proposals for their improvement.
4. The Dacca scheme, which is half-way between No. 3 and No. 1.
5. Certain recent European and American proposals and experiments which might be applicable, e.g. The Oneida Scheme—the George Republic—the Swiss Reformatory Colony—the Continuation School—the Correspondence School.

*Chatterton.*¹ — Chatterton points out that the raw materials of an industrial organization are not lacking in India. There is plenty of capital, if only it could be brought into action. The labour is skilled and industrious. The deterring cause is to be found in the fact that industry is divided into too small units. The work is split up amongst individual workers and their families. Modern conditions demand larger units of organization, minuter sub-division of labour, more regular hours of work. In contrast to this the labourer finds the sub-divided process monotonous; he dislikes the regular hours; he dislikes leaving his family circle to go to work—he wants to work at home. It is difficult to make him realize that in return for these minor disadvantages his hours will be shorter and his earnings greater.

There have been three main types of proposals for bettering the condition of the craftsman. The art-amateur would revive the past: he disapproves of modern machine-methods. His proposals are not practical. The

¹ Chatterton, "Indian Industrial Development".

second class would introduce pure European industrialism, and despises any small-scale effort: these persons do not realize that in many if not in the bulk of cases the highly capitalized industry on European lines is not possible; there is not the volume of trade to make it succeed, whereas there might be quite sufficient to bring success to a smaller concern. In any case trees grow from seeds, and an intermediate stage of small-scale enterprise may lead eventually to a larger industrial system, by developing an export trade from one originally confined to a local market. To start the large export business straight off would involve unnecessary risk. If we are to wait for large industrial development in India we may wait for ever: we must lead up to it.—I am quoting Chatterton's views.

Hence the third view is that approved by Chatterton, namely, the small-power factory. A number of workmen are gathered into a small factory where they can make common use of a small engine, of improved machines, of common designs and information (in the supply of which Government assists), of a central sales and purchase agency shared between several such factories.

Experiments were made on these lines with some success. The difficulty which arose was the question of the limits of Government interference. Is it justifiable that Government should finance industry? Is it justifiable that it should finance and manage? Is it merely to finance without any say in the management? Consider England and India as two parts of the Empire, Lancashire and Yorkshire as two parts of England: is it permissible for Government to finance in Yorkshire and not in Lancashire? It might be desirable, but it is bound to lead to injustice: it is totally opposed to British ideas. Government may educate, it may advise,

but it cannot enter the field of business in competition with the citizens it governs.

The Development of Industrial Life.—The above is no argument against Chatterton's theory. The most valuable point in his case is what we might call the "Culture Epoch" theory of industrial evolution. Europe has reached its present economic and industrial condition through a number of fairly clearly marked stages.¹ The earliest form of industry is *House-work*; the house-owner makes for himself; there is no specialization or barter. This stage does not postulate village life: it is "Home-industry". Plus and minus differences of endowment lead to excess in some cases, deficiency in others. Hence barter begins. This postulates the existence of neighbours. Village life develops, and a man with a special gift may decide to live by that gift, abandoning the land. He works on the purchaser's material. Where the tools are bulky, e.g. a loom, the material is brought to the worker; in other cases the worker goes to the employer's house. We may call this stage *Home-work*. In the wool season under this arrangement the weaver is over-employed; in the off-season he is under-employed. Hence the worker purchases material, works all the year round, and sells the finished article for a price. *Price-work* postulates the existence of a town; it depends upon the personal touch between the maker and the purchaser,—therefore a small town. The difficulties of the small man in capitalizing himself, in tiding over the slack seasons, and in finding the money for the purchase of materials at the right time, introduce the entrepreneur and *Commission-work*. The entrepreneur becomes the sole customer; hence the worker loses direct touch with his market. This stage assumes a group of towns.

¹ Bucher, "Industrial Evolution," chaps. ii., iii., v., viii.

The existence of the *Factory* assumes national trade. It arises rather from sub-division of labour than from machinery. It is more economical than individual workmanship, but it is not very adaptable either in the nature of goods or in the quantity produced.

Where should India be placed in this development? Is it necessary that its industrial life should follow these stages?

We find in Bengal a strange admixture of stages. House-work is rare, but still exists; a good deal of the cloth woven in the house is for home use. The goldsmith is an instance of wage-work. The brassworker is an instance of price-work. The potter is a "commission worker". In jute, cotton, steel, we find the factory on a large scale; in soap, printing, jewellery, we see the small-scale factory.

Reviewing the average conditions we should be inclined to say that for the most part industry is in the stage of wage-work or price-work, which is modified by the existence of cheap imports and the retail trader. Chatterton's proposal is to substitute commission-work and the small factory. We saw that the dangers of commission-work are the fact that the worker is out of touch with the market. The continued existence of the small local worker is largely due to the fact that he is closely in touch with the market.¹

Secondly, there is the danger of the entrepreneur: the middleman is often oppressive. There is in East Bengal the germ of a useful little manufactory of shell buttons, but the cost of the middleman is so excessive that the doom of the trade is inevitable.

Both of these dangers might be avoided by official

¹ For instances of the peculiarities of the Indian market, see Mitra, "Indian Problems," p. 302.

control. Is this the sort of thing which the industrial bureau could control? Is it capable of controlling it? The value of the trade of any one small factory is microscopic; the workers are suspicious of the official as a new middleman who will enter and take an additional toll. It would seem as if the small factory and commission-work is really a transitional stage in development; it contains elements which render early development or early decay inevitable.

There is a more serious consideration. We find the wage worker, the commission worker or small factory, and the large factory in the same province. But they are not found in the same place. The wage worker is situated in the far-away village; the small factory is in the mofussil town; the large factory is in the city. Between these three there are centuries of social development. The type of industry is suited to the type of social life.

In endeavouring to make a small factory out of the village weaver, we are endeavouring to take an institution out of one social stage and place it in another era. It is possible, by building a railway, by erecting a new steamer halt, by a new road to make a village into a small town: then the wage worker automatically tends towards price-work, and, as the town grows, becomes a small factory owner. But the attempt to change the industrial type without real alteration of the social conditions seems foredoomed to failure.

At the same time we must admit the possibility that in some cases the social conditions may exist which render the small factory possible, but indolence or lack of initiative have prevented its growth. Here we are dealing with a dangerous argument. I would ask the reader to consider any instance he may have in mind,

any embryo industry which he considers capable of development :—

What would fuel cost ?

What would transport to the customer cost ?

Or if a middleman is employed, transport to the distributor ?

What would the plant cost ?

and lastly : What would the capital cost ?

An industry of this kind is a more or less risky venture ; whereas money-lending to agriculturists is comparatively safe. A co-operative bank—one of the safest investments going if reasonable choice is exercised—will pay 7 per cent. A slightly-risky loan to a ryot will bring in anything between 15 per cent and 30 per cent. Probably the ryot is a less risky investment than the factory. Why then invest in industry ?

For an external bureau to detect where there are possibilities of a small industry would be, to say the least, a task of the utmost difficulty. A few cases might be detected. But on the whole education of the people to detect for themselves would be a more reliable policy. The man who lives in the small town, and knows its requirements, both in quality and quantity, has a far better chance of seeing any opening which offers. If he is too indolent to use his chance, that same indolence would be sure in the end to wreck any venture started by the bureau.

Can Small Industries Survive ?—In spite of these objections it might be worth while to pay attention to the small factory if future industrial development is likely to lead through it. Is it likely that we shall have an era of small factories leading eventually to a fuller industrial development ?

It does not seem probable. Small-scale production may arise from several causes :—

• 1. *A Localized Market.*—The production of cloth on a lonely island cut off from every other part of the world would be small scale.

• 2. *A Specialized Demand.*—The people of a certain district may desire a certain class of article which no one else needs, e.g. the peculiar breast-cloth of the Chakma woman.

• 3. *A Perishable Product.*—A perishable product is produced near its market, because the additional costs of small-scale production are less than the risks and costs of transport.

In the first development of industry the opening up of communications gradually widened the market. With this gradual extension the factory gradually increased in size. But the opening up of communications nowadays puts an isolated part of the country into touch with the whole world. The tiny local artisan does not swell to a shop, thence to factory; he is suddenly displaced by world products, or he suddenly develops into a factory supplying the world. •

The factory arose not so much from improvement in the method of supply as by alteration in the nature of the demand. Improved communications, increase of population, development of education lead to an increasing sameness. Men are much more like each other now than they ever were before. Their tastes and their thoughts are becoming standardized; hence also their needs. This standardization of demand made possible the standardization of supply. We cannot suppose that time will accentuate local differences; rather it will flatten them out into the world uniformity. Local fads are an unstable basis for long-lived industrial hopes.

Only the perishable product, such as pottery, is likely to rest with the small producer. The tendency of modern production is to displace the perishable article. Enamel vessels, unbreakable glass, non-chip plates, preserved foods are a few instances.

The small producer becomes a repair shop, or a local fitter, or retailer, or disappears.

Education for the Development of the Small Industry.—Bucher, in tracing the development of industry through marked stages, might also have pointed out that each stage of industry has an educational method peculiar to itself. In the early stages hereditary apprenticeship develops. With the advent of the small town where many different trades are gathered together it becomes possible for the parent to set his child to learn some other craft than his own. Moreover, it becomes desirable for him to do so; for in the small town, unlike the village with its one official craftsman, overcrowding of crafts becomes a possibility.

The Guild¹ arises from out of these two chief needs:—

1. The prevention of overcrowding and competition.
2. The supervision of apprenticeship.

A larger development of industry, the advent of commission work, and later the development of the factory, make Guild supervision and control inadequate. The outside competitor despises its rules. Having lost its authority as a regulator of trade it loses its powers also in the control of apprentices. Apprenticeship does not perish altogether.² On the contrary, it continues to this day, but in an altered form. There are learners in most manufactories, but the learning period is usually, in view of the minute sub-division of processes, short. There

¹ Jocelyn Dunlop, "Apprenticeship and Boy Labour".

² Deare, "The Trade Guilds of London".

are some who pass from one department to another as "learners," partly with a view to finding out what work suits them best, partly so as to have several accomplishments to fall back upon in event of unemployment.

Apprenticeship in India.—The value of apprenticeship for the training of craftsmen in India has been urged repeatedly.¹ The question was discussed in the Commission on Technical Education in India² (1904); the general opinion seemed to be against it.

Apprenticeship is a contract for service on the part of the pupil and for instruction on the part of the master. The master stands in *loco parentis*. The carrying out of the contract is supervised by the local community. Thus there are three parties in the matter:—

1. The apprentice.
2. The master.
3. The local community.

Advocates of apprenticeship seem to be of a somewhat idealistic turn of mind. They urge the undoubted advantages of the system, viz. :—

1. The boy learns under real trade conditions. His instruction therefore is likely to be practical.
2. He receives individual attention and instruction.
3. He is not merely taught skill, but also character. His life is regulated by the master.

Educationally this is good, for character is everything in education. Artistically it is good, for in those trades which contain an element of art, personal touch is all-important. Here lies the cause of the frequent failure of the Art School. It is not so much the master's skill, but his outlook, his devotion, his attitude to the world and to his art which affects the pupil's development.

¹ Coomorswamy, "The Indian Craftsman".

² "Technical Education in India," 1904.

All these are advantages of one party only—the apprentice, and of the apprentice only for a part of the time. If apprenticeship is to succeed—

It must pay the boy: he must receive valuable instruction.

It must pay the master: he must receive valuable service.

Hence the need of the indenture. For the general tendency¹ is for the boy to stay with the master so long as he is learning, and his services are practically valueless. As soon as his services become valuable the boy goes off and sells them to another craftsman who offers a higher price. For the master expects during the concluding years of the indenture during which he is paying low wages for good work to recoup himself for the period during which the boy's services were totally useless, if not an actual charge—in materials and in money. The better the master's teaching, the greater his reward should be during the final years of service.

It requires all the powers of the Guild to prevent the enticing away of apprentices; not that they need any enticing. Unless the master's rights are maintained, how is apprenticeship to pay him?

The duty of maintaining these rights falls upon the local community. It is their duty to see that the master treats the boy properly, that he gives genuine instruction, instead of misusing the boy's labour on menial tasks. It is their duty to see that the boy maintains his part of the contract by serving his master during the full term, during the period when it no longer pays the pupil to serve

¹ Messrs. Labchand Motichand of Bow Bazaar, Calcutta, have a most interesting school for apprentices in jewellery. They state that no boy yet during the ten odd years' existence of the school has stayed the full period. Very few stay more than two or three years at most.

his master, but the services are payment to the master for his instruction. We should say "when it no longer appears to pay the apprentice," for the final part of the instruction is, as the Guild realized, the most important. Allow the pupil to fix the date, and as soon as he has a minimum of skill he goes. In that final period the boy learns to maintain a standard of quality—that excess of skill and delight in its exhibition which distinguishes the artist from the mere worker. The last years of apprenticeship are a training in character. Very few boys are able to realize or appreciate character training—not till afterwards. The local community has to ensure that character training may not be neglected, and at the same time that the master gets his due.

This work of supervision is no easy task. Apprenticeship must pay the local community as well as the master and the pupil. In fact the fall of apprenticeship in England was due to its failure not with regard to the master or pupil, but with regard to the Guilds. It ceased to pay the Guild.

Apprenticeship for the local community is a means of—

1. Preventing the competition of cheap child-labour.
 2. Maintaining the standard of quality.
 3. Limiting competition in the particular trade.
- Points 2 and 3 need some explanation.

The policy of the employer tends to be cheapness and quantity—so far as it is consistent with maintenance of the reputation of the goods. A number of small profits on numerous sales is likely to amount to more than fewer larger profits on the sale of expensive articles; for there is a limit beyond which the customer will not pay for the particular commodity. Supposing, for example, six pieces of medium quality broad-cloth, and one piece of

the very finest beaver take the same time to manufacture; the broad-cloth, costing 10s. per yard to produce, may be sold at 12s. 6d.—a good profit of 15s.; the single piece of beaver, however good, cannot fetch more than 25s. to 30s. per yard, simply because no one would pay more than that for a piece of cloth, and it cost 20s. to make.

On the contrary, it is always to the interest of the worker to keep up the quality of the cloth. On the financial side it does not affect him much whether he is producing cheap or expensive material. On the psychological side it affects him very much. The production of a number of cheap articles is drudgery: the production of a single article of the finest quality is self-expressive craftsmanship. Moreover, the craftsman can demand high wages; the drudge cannot. As a result, all through the history of industry we find the worker struggling against the demand on the part of the employer or entrepreneur—and of the market also—for cheap goods and endeavouring to maintain a standard of quality. The Trades Unions have followed the Guilds in this demand.¹ The anti-machinery riots embodied the same feeling: they were not merely protests against the displacement of labour, they were protests against unexpressive labour.

The control of apprenticeship aids the Guild in obtaining satisfaction of this demand, because it enables them to ensure that all craftsmen in the Guild are fully trained, and hence desirous of expressive labour; at the same time they are able to prevent the production of semi-trained labourers who would act as blacklegs.

Limitation of the number of qualified workers is still a policy of the Trade Unions. The Guilds limited the number of craftsmen by control of apprenticeship. Most

¹ H. H. Schloesser, "Trade Unionism".

Guilds had laws forbidding a master to take more than a certain number of apprentices. This prevented misuse of apprentices as child-labour, ensured adequate personal supervision, and at the same time limited recruiting of the craft. The chief agency for limiting recruiting was the entrance qualification of the Guild. This was strict or lax according to the popularity of the craft. Membership might be limited to children of craftsmen, or to townsmen; it might be conditional on a long period of service and severe tests, plus heavy premia; or less severe conditions might be imposed. In any case the control of apprenticeship was a powerful and useful weapon for regulating internal competition.

The Suitability of Apprenticeship to Indian Conditions.—We have admitted the excellence of apprenticeship as a means of education. Probably there is no method of specific education so good. But we deny its possibility. It does not pay the master because there is no power to enforce the fulfilment of the indenture. Moreover, under modern conditions large factories are parasitic on the small works, which, of course, give the best all-round training. It does not pay the apprentice because full apprenticeship is not enforced as the one and only entrance to the craft; without apprenticeship, or with a short and ineffective period of learning, he can earn quicker and just as well. It does not pay the local community because there is in most cases no effective Guild¹ of craftsmen. Were there such a Guild it would not enforce a monopoly efficiently enough to prevent over-recruitment, unexpressive labour, child-labour, and internal competition: control of apprenticeship is of value to the Guild only for this purpose. On no other condition does it pay.

¹ "Report on Technical Education in India," 1904.

The control of apprenticeship by Trades Unions in England is worthy of consideration. The Unions have consistently opposed technical instruction in Technical or Artisan schools. Their opposition has been based on fear of over-recruitment. They have favoured correspondence, evening, and continuation teaching, because it is given to men already members of the craft. Could they have a monopoly of the earlier teaching, they would undoubtedly be enthusiastic in giving the instruction, far more enthusiastic and far more capable than any present agency—because it would pay them. Under such conditions apprenticeship might well be revived.

In India there are no Trade Unions. There are a few Guilds; but they are not powerful. Caste is powerful, but it is not an industrial unit either in origin¹ or in present function. It might become so. But it seems more probable that industrial development would be accompanied by a weakening rather than by a strengthening of caste. Had caste been adopted as an educational unit in the first instance, the result might have been different. It is in many ways a most valuable social organization of which much use might have been made. A democratic outlook on sociology has emphasized its worst features. Probably the opportunity has passed: probably the institution is so far removed from British ideas, perhaps so contrary to human nature itself, that there never was a possibility of a constructive policy with regard to it. Certainly caste as an active monopolist of labour and of a certain form of specific education seems quite incredible.

Lastly we should inquire what apprenticeship will teach? School education produces uniformity of character: apprenticeship produces difference.²

¹ Chailley, "Administrative Problems," chap. vi.

² Hughes, "Making of Citizens," p. 201.

That very uniformity of demand and supply in production which puts an end to the small industry, puts an end also to the training system of the small industry, in spite of all its merits. Modern industry requires interchangeable parts, in its machinery and in its employees. It requires a standardized equipment in a worker, even if that equipment be inferior. A special knowledge of one workshop is not so valuable as a general adaptability.

In a word, apprenticeship, in its true meaning, training by personal influence and imitation, will not suit the large industry, while we doubt the future of the small industry. As the method of teaching art, where difference and personality are the essentials, it lives still—and it is never likely to perish.

The Artisan School.—Leaving aside apprenticeship as admirable but impossible, and of doubtful utility to the future even were it possible, let us consider the system of the present. The Artisan School is a growth arising out of the policy of 1854, the policy of providing practical instruction for the masses in their own employments: as a rule carpentry, tinsmithy, sometimes blacksmithy, brass-work, basket-work are taught. Some artisan schools contain a section preparing candidates to be surveyors for employment by large land-holders (zemindars). The boys are as a rule more or less illiterate, and instruction in "R.R.R." is given as well as the manual instruction. The technical school is a higher branch of the same form of instruction. It is generally admitted that most of these artisan schools are not very successful. They find it difficult to obtain pupils except at very liberal scholarship rates. Very few boys attend from the motives which the school desires. The survey section has been too popular: the rest always rather anæmic.

Little fault is to be found with the schools themselves. Their teaching is for the most part very practical, and in close touch with the market. Sometimes the touch is too close, and their work is little better than that of the bazaar. It would be too much to expect that they should lead the market, producing new designs and processes. Yet much might be done in this way if the schools were so successful as to justify the salary required for a man capable of this initiative. But they are not.

What is the reason of their failure to attain popularity ?

The cause seems to be entangled in the perpetual discussion which ranges round technical instruction, at any rate in India. Are these schools preparing boys for present or for future industries ?

If the training is for future industries, if it is hoped that these boys will go out to create or develop new industries, are we not asking rather much of youthful or of parental optimism ? A parent might send his boy to school in the hopes that he will attain to a certain already existing position in an existing business ; but not in the hopes that he will create a business and his post therein. Are we so certain ourselves that the industry will come, and that he could bring it, that we would invest a child of our own in so vague a future ? Even assuming the ability in the child, where is the capital for the industry ? If there were capital would they not invest it in some less risky venture on behalf of that child, e.g. an educational speculation—a high-school education for a Government “chakori”.

In most cases the training given is intended to prepare the boy for industry in its present condition. Here again the school is placed in a dilemma. It may endeavour to give a training severely practical based simply on the existing processes, or it may endeavour to give a wider

training in theory and practice, which will make the boy something more than the ordinary mechanical labourer. If the school gives the mere mechanical training, it is difficult to see what advantage it has over uncontrolled apprenticeship, the method usually employed. For if the school is practical it must take notice of the existing conditions and processes: it is not practical to teach the use of a power-driven lathe for brasswork: the child could not afford to purchase one, nor yet is his business likely to be large enough to bring him a return on the expenditure.

Hence the school must teach merely what is done at present, and of that the present worker—the boy's father, or his uncle, or his father's friend—is probably a far more effective teacher; he is likely to be more practical; he is in closer touch with the market; he can give the boy more individual attention.

If, on the other hand, the school attempts to give a wider training, a training far more thorough than that which the ordinary artisan master could give, it suffers then from the narrowness of the demand. The boy desires merely to learn the specialized craft, and to earn as soon as he possibly can. If the school takes three years to teach him, even if it teaches for nothing, even pays a scholarship, the boy would prefer to learn rapidly the few special processes from a worker and start earning.

No scholarship can compensate the boy or his parents for the loss of two years' wages. The educational superiority of the school course is a matter quite beyond parental understanding.

Probably the parents are right, for if wider intelligence and skill were needed in the artisan, the artisan would possess it, and be able to teach it. The wider training is an attempt to produce a worker better than the circum-

stances demand in the hopes that he will raise his trade. It is a form of education for future needs: this, as we have already pointed out, is a form of education which can never appeal to the public. Socially it is an excellent scheme. Where compulsion is exercised, as in German Compulsory Continuation Schools, it may be successful. It can never succeed as a voluntary system.

The same criticisms apply to the technical school: where the school trains for an existing form of industry, pupils may be obtained. But here the school works under a disadvantage that most industries can give all the training they need in their own shops, and the training there given is better adapted to their own special conditions of work.

Such training does little for the development of industry in the country, for it trains either those actually in employment or those who are quite certain of employment. If they are not certain they will not attend the school. It does little to lead boys into industrial work. As soon as it endeavours to do so, it meets with (in England) the opposition of the Trade Unions who rightly fear overcrowding in a certain few employments for which the technical school recruits, neglecting others. It meets with opposition or neglect from the parents, for whom the inducement is too vague. It tends itself to become impractical, because it is teaching for too distant and indistinct a goal.

The Dacca Scheme.—Chatterton's proposals and experiments were practical attempts actually to create industries: he taught by doing; but he does not make very detailed educational proposals.

The artisan schools are a purely educational organization. Indeed it is thought by some that their chief fault is that they are not closely enough linked on to exist-

ing industries. They might do a little more industrial organization in addition to their educational work.

The Dacca Scheme¹ skilfully combines in a higher grade institution experiment, organization, and instruction.

There were to be model factories, on the lines of Chatterton's, for hand-loom weaving, silk manufacture, bleaching and dyeing, ginning and rice-hulling. The last aims at demonstrating the utility of the small-power engine. There was to be a school of engineering, a school of design, a technical laboratory, a museum. The present artisan school organization, and the B Class (or technical "modern" side) of the High Schools were to be linked on to this central institution. At the head of the whole organization was to be a Director of Industries and his staff. This form of control would keep the educational work in close touch with actual conditions.

The teaching was to include drawing, mechanics, engineering, industrial chemistry, business methods, practical work, research work. The industries to which special attention was to be given were fruit-canning, starch, matches, horn buttons, glass, cement, bone manure, carpets, ropes. •

The scheme is an effective but an expensive one. In technical education one of the main difficulties is that of expense, for the capital cost is large, and it recurs. Out-of-date machinery is worse than useless. Moreover, the cost of materials is a very heavy item. The better the equipment the greater the speed of production, and hence the greater the cost of raw stuff.

Self-supporting Schools.—This question of the cost of technical education has met with great consideration in America.

¹ Report published by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1909. *

In the Manual Labour Schools¹ of New York half of the boy's time was given to study, to which we suppose a practical turn was given, and half to farm work or work in sawmills. The idea was that the boy should earn his own education. This type of school could not properly be called technical, for the manual labour was merely an "out of school" employment, not necessarily intended to be the work of the boy's later life. None of these schools exist at present.

Carlton² quotes a proposal of a Mr. Higgins to join a well-equipped engineering shop run on commercial lines to a technical school. The pupils of the technical school would spend part-time in the shop working under expert supervision. The proposal is attractive, and is one which has been frequently tried. But one of two things invariably happens—either the shop becomes a mere asset of the school and ceases to be a commercial affair; or else the shop becoming a paying affair refuses to lessen its efficiency by accommodating itself to the demands of the school. In any case it would seem more reasonable to add a school to a shop than a shop to a school. There is no difficulty in founding a school if the money is available, but even with the money it is not easy to start a successful engineering works. Why not then leave the existing engineering works to make their own arrangements.

A third type of self-supporting school is seen in the reformatory colony.³ The Swiss Adult Colonies and the George Junior Republic might be cited as instances.

Such institutions are limited in their scope. They

¹ E.g. Oneida, 1825-50. See Carlton, "Education and Industrial Evolution," p. 164.

² Op. cit. p. 185.

³ "Dawn of Liberty," June, 1914. Article by Capt. Petavel. Also numerous articles in "The Empire," a Calcutta evening paper, in the autumn of 1916. There was much of "neo-co-operation,"—a "neo" phrase which is not very self-explanatory.

teach work whereby the child can earn a livelihood, e.g. farming, carpentry, etc. But the system obviously could not be applied to the teaching of advanced engineering or to a highly specialized manufacture, such as button-making. The occupations followed in these institutions are always what might be called the essential occupations of mankind. The colonies are self-supporting in that they aim at a form of life which dispenses with much of the organization of modern civilization. They are self-sufficient islands. They aim at a form of life, not at a particular accomplishment.

*The Continuation School.*¹—It is a common saying of writers on pedagogics that the school should be a microcosm: it should be a minute and selected anticipation of life. So long as technical training anticipates the individual work, so long must it present to the pupil at least a passable reproduction of future conditions. The complexity of those conditions makes this a very expensive matter. The Continuation school is not an anticipatory but a parallel school. It assumes the industrial conditions, and side by side with them gives instructions to the boy how to deal with the conditions he is in.

This is a far more feasible proposition than the reproduction of future circumstances. It cannot be used as a means of developing future industries. It can increase the efficiency of workers in existing industries. It does not tend to produce overcrowding in certain vocations—an objection to the technical school—for it deals with persons who have already selected their path in life. It is one of the most recent of educational developments and one of the best. There is a growing recognition of the fact that we have got our education in the wrong place. We delay a boy's entrance into life by teaching him for an

¹ M. Sadler's Report. Published by Sherrat & Hughes (Manchester). *

unknown future. We do not know what we ought to teach him, for we do not know what he is going to be. We teach anything, usually what was taught before, and find psychological reasons afterwards. On a strange collection of formal puzzles the boys sort themselves. The sharp, adaptable ones rise out of their place in the world: those with few gifts, those with special gifts, which the schools do not call out, drop down into one place and another. All consider their education complete, before they have ever felt the need of earning, before they have developed the full power to acquire, or had the experience to make learning real. Little wonder that the school has become an inefficient machine for sorting boys according to unanalysed mental powers by means of a series of ill-constructed tests.

The Continuation school has not yet fully succeeded in England. Practically it does not exist in India.

There is the practical difficulty that a boy who has done a good day's work is not in a fit state for learning in the evening.¹ There is the reply that there are other times than the evening, e.g. Sundays, holidays, periods of unemployment, the off-season in seasonal occupations.

Undoubtedly the Continuation school is perfectly possible. The time can be found if it is really wanted. The difficulty is the demand. Once the school education is over and the boy is placed, the parents consider that their responsibilities are at an end. Few boys have the ambition and the determination to continue learning. It seems rather much to expect. A boy free from school wants to look about a bit, to feel his freedom. Sundays and holidays are possible, but they are very precious. Employers can make room in the day for Continuation school work. But there is no compulsion, and as the

¹ Calcutta Technological Institute. Report of the Committee, 1912.

boys are not firmly indentured to them their beneficence may merely be another's profit.

The truth is that the Continuation school is merely education. There is no faint hope of "rising above one's sphere" to tempt, as in the case of the ordinary school. Hence there is no strong inducement to make use of it. The desire to learn for learning's sake, the hope to rise by merit—and not by an exam—is not a large enough bribe.

Continuation schools can only succeed if they are compulsory. In any case, they hardly affect the present problem.

Particular industries in large cities might be compelled to make provision for continuation teaching. This might lead to a development of those industries. But the Indian industrial reformer wishes to reach those who are *not* engaged in industry, to "get our young men to take up industrial work". The Continuation school does not help much here. He wants an education which will affect the boy during the selective period.

The Correspondence School.—The Correspondence, like the Continuation, school is not in its essence vocational, but it is so frequently specific that it tends to be looked upon as a largely vocational institution. The idea is an old one, but the present development of correspondence institution took its rise in America. In 1880 William Harper,¹ President of Chicago University, started a correspondence course in Hebrew. In 1892 the University made correspondence courses a feature of their extension work. Most of the present correspondence colleges were founded in the early nineties, for example, the International Correspondence Schools (Pennsylvania), The American School of Correspondence (Boston), The Elec-

¹ Carlton, "Education and Industrial Evolution," p. 186.

trical Engineers' Institution of Correspondence Instruction. The first-named in 1910 claimed 300,000 pupils, 80 per cent of whom knew nothing of fractions when they joined. Many of the American Universities have started correspondence instruction. Correspondence instruction is recognized for London External Examinations. But the most widely known part of the work and probably the largest is the vocational.

There is a branch of the International Correspondence Schools in India. Several of the others advertise occasionally in Indian papers. Correspondence for Calcutta examinations has not appeared yet: the regulations of the University seem to prevent it; or else it is no cheaper than the colleges.

The success of vocational correspondence instruction is probably due to men's natural interest in their own vocations. That interest, stimulated by skilful advertisements holding out the prospect of higher wages, leads pupils to join the course. A pupil may work at his own speed, fitting in the time at his own convenience. In this point correspondence work has a great advantage over the Continuation school: the fixed engagement and the uniform rate of advance are disadvantages to a busy man. Moreover, the impulse for self-improvement is intermittent. A few weeks' irregular attendance at the Continuation school discourages a pupil from attending further; when the good resolution returns, the class is in advance of him, and it would be impossible to catch up. This is not the case with the correspondence pupil.

Undoubtedly the schools prosper as much on the failures as on the successes; probably more so. A large part of their margin of profit is due to those who start and never finish. It is equally true that the instruction given by some of the widely advertised schools is not of very high quality. On the other hand, that of the better

institutions is extremely good, probably better than that of most Continuation schools. The objection is certainly to be urged that practical work is impossible. This need not be the case. If the University or the Continuation school were to undertake correspondence tuition, they might very easily arrange the practical work as a brief evening course, or holiday course, at the pupil's most convenient time of year. As it is, a great deal of the time in the Continuation course is spent in the giving and hearing of lectures on material which could be taught and learned far better by correspondence tuition.

There are of course a large number of pupils in the Continuation schools whose education has been so inferior, that they are unable to learn from printed lessons at all. For such oral tuition is essential. The remedy for this lies in an improvement of the previous schooling rather than in extension of the Continuation system. The improvement needed is a simplification. Owing to the assumption that education finishes at the end of the Primary school, the Primary course has been cumbered with a mass of subjects which are in no sense Primary. The sole duty of a Primary school is to lay the basis for subsequent education. It should teach the boy how to learn. This purpose has been forgotten because no subsequent education is provided. The cure lies in a limitation of the functions of the Primary school, and a provision of a subsequent education. Both steps are necessary: they are essential to each other.

As an instrument for adding intelligence to the work of men already engaged in industry the Correspondence school (if it could co-operate more with the Continuation school) is invaluable. But it is of even less use than the Continuation school as a means of recruiting. A fairly young boy may attend Continuation classes. Corre-

spendence study is essentially an adult education. It is, moreover, essentially voluntary. Continuation schools might be made compulsory; they might well use correspondence instruction as a part of their teaching. The future of the Correspondence school is as an asset of the Continuation school. It does not seem likely to achieve much as a separate institution.

Summary.—We find that apprenticeship fails through absence of a power to enforce fulfilment of the indenture. The artisan and technical schools find difficulty in obtaining pupils except for definite existing openings; and in most cases firms prefer to train for themselves. An artisan and technical school system working in close connection with a department of industry might be effective in encouraging industry, but it would be likely to suffer from the same difficulties in obtaining pupils, and it would be excessively costly. Self-supporting schools sacrifice instruction to the means of support. Continuation and Correspondence schools affect only those who have already entered an industrial career.

The Question of Compulsion.—In each case above the failure is due to an absence of compulsion. Whatever the type of institution may be pupils will not attend it, except those who are already engaged in industry. Many of these cannot, or do not choose.

To persuade boys to enter industrial careers we must offer some inducement more attractive than is offered at present. Parents do not calculate chances mathematically. They go for the attractive post, whatever the competition, unless there be overwhelming evidence of the impossibility of success. So long as there is the opening of a cheap High school education with the dream of a "chakori"¹ at the end, artisan schools will most certainly remain empty. For competition counts for

¹ Meaning "Government post".

less in India than in England : the English failure starves, therefore he takes less chances ; the Indian failure goes and lives at home.

So drastic a change as a genuine development of industrial training in India could come only by compulsion. By this is not meant compulsion to go to the Artisan school, but a negative compulsion which would put a check on selective education and its immoral lottery. Specific training is not the only sufferer. Primary education suffers from the same competition. Indian parents are no better nor worse than French or English or German parents : they do not want learning for their children, nor efficiency, nor character : they want their sons to succeed. They are egoistic, optimistic gamblers.

The cheapening of primary education had no effect on the attendance. Of late the policy has been rather to make the teaching better than cheaper. This has had little effect. There are so-called Primary schools teaching a mockery of preparation for the High school which charge three and four times the Primary school fee, and are three and four times less efficient in their teaching : but they succeed, because they pander to the selective ambition.

No one gets educated of his own free will : it is always in the hope of social promotion. True education is an altruistic social service : the human race has not yet reached the degree of altruism to fulfil this willingly. In fact specific education must be based on compulsion—if we consider that specific education is really worth having.

Compulsory Industrial Education.—In reviewing Chatterton's discussion of the development of small industries we noted that the main difficulty in the way of the small factory was the worker's objection to going away from

home for his work, his objection to fixed hours of labour, and the fact that subdivided processes are less interesting than undivided. We have to take into consideration also, in noting the difficulties of specific institutions in obtaining pupils, the Eastern dislike of manual employment. For these reasons and for others we have concluded that an effective system of specific training for industrial development is impossible without compulsion.

This difficulty, the unwillingness of a people living in a tropical climate to undergo the labour of Western industrial methods, has been met elsewhere. One might re-quote the passage which afforded Reinsch such amusement. The Rev. Usher Wilson¹ points out that compulsory labour is a necessary step in the education of undeveloped peoples. Certainly if industrial training is to be introduced it must be introduced by compulsion. And that compulsion must be largely directed towards giving a taste for manual exercise. No doubt many of the Indian "industrial development" propagandists would be willing to argue that compulsion is a "necessary part of the education" needed.

On the other hand, the "compulsory industrial development" of a country has been called by various names. These accusations, however, apply only to the case where the compulsion is exercised for private and not for public benefit. If it would be for public benefit, and not only the benefit of present unemployed classes, compulsion in some form might be justifiable.

The Benefit of Industrialism.—In proposing this attempt at industrial development, are we automatically following a blind assimilative impulse, as Reinsch accuses us of doing, or are we acting from sound consideration? Have we convinced ourselves that the European in-

¹ "Fortnightly Review," August, 1903.

dustrial system is really a triumph of civilization? That the Industrial Revolution was a historic landmark in the betterment of mankind?

• In the place of variety of character and of occupation, we find that the first postulate of industrialism is similarity. People must have similar tastes for one factory to supply all. In working as units in the industrial machine they must have similar ways. Industrialism is a standardizing of mankind, and those of mankind who have been standardized set out to order the world in like manner. The philosophy of the Victorian era was the philosophy of a child with a knife and a glue-pot.¹ It was a creed of making something out of something else. Everything has been made out of something; everything can be made into something. The benefits of the age were counted in Things; there was more money, more business, more inventions. Material comforts, material creatures were enumerated as making up the sum of the tangible and irrefutable benefit of this new civilization.

Early in the history of Industrial Philosophy there was a movement of protest. William Morris protested against the inexpressiveness of the results of labour, and the loss of art. There was a call for amusements and relaxations from the monotony of machine-ordered lives; the protest showed itself first in vice and excess, later in philanthropic club organization. The sense of monotony of cities, the crushing of individuality by rows of standard homes showed itself in the Small Holdings and Garden Cities movements. These are all cures of symptoms.

Of late only have we begun to doubt the philosophy

¹ Bergson, "Creative Evolution". Bergson, "Hibbert Journal," April, 1915.

which lies at the root. *The philosophy of Nietzsche¹ shows a morbid revolt against the psychological results of the system. There is a sense of loss of virility, of powers unexpressed; hence a psychology which emphasizes the rightness of instinct. Hence also the philosophy of the superman, a curious mixture of morbid self-consciousness and endeavour after something better.

Bergson criticizes the limitations of man's intellect—the mind of the artisan—in constructing a philosophy. He introduces a new phrase into metaphysics—the “*élan vitale*”. We might parallel it with Freud's emphasis of instinct, and Nietzsche's emphasis of “Manhood”.

There is a feeling that we are doing a lot, and we are *consuming* a lot—a feature of industrialism not noticed till recently. We are no better because we are the hungriest age the world has known. We have made consumption our standard instead of vitality. We are a plutocracy in which the largest consumer is greatest. In revolt against this we are putting vitality as our standard, and are preaching as virtues those qualities to which Christianity was an antidote.

There is some truth in it. The German physical weakling has been brutal in order to prove himself a man. But the gospel of manhood is what we need all the same, and in place of machines and the vast greed of industrialism we hope to put self-expression and vitality.

We must then examine very carefully our industrialism before we count it as an undoubted good to give to those who have it not. Bevan² draws a picture of the little Eastern village in the days to come, with its cinematograph palace, its gaudy shopfuls of tawdry luxuries, its

¹ Nietzsche, “Future of Educational Institutions,” espec. Lectures I. and II.

² Bevan, “Indian Nationalism,” chap. v.

power station, its cheap hotels, congested streets, its hungry consumption, and its hurrying search for stimulus and pleasure. Is not Chatterton's weaver, who prefers his own hours, his own home, and his own life, the more right of the two?

One fundamental difference between East and West is too often neglected. In the cold climate life tends to conserve itself against death. There are fewer lives, each costing more. Increase of means adds to the conserving instruments of each life. In the hot climate life multiplies against death. Increase of means results in increase of population. Supposing industry were introduced, would it produce a benefit for any one person, or would it result merely in the multiplication of lives made unhappy by it?¹

The essential point about specific education is that it **MUST** be compulsory. No one will forego his larger hopes save under compulsion. No one is content to be trained to be what he is; if he educates himself it is to be what he is not. The young are hopeful, and parents are blind optimists. They—and their children—want not to improve in their sphere, but to rise out of it altogether. It is a question of social grading. No doubt national efficiency can be achieved by making every man perfect in his sphere. If the constituent individuals of a people were ordered, arranged, and drilled like an army, an industrial army, great things might be done. But is it the duty of the educationist to set up as his ideal the creation of industrial cog-wheels, as his purpose, the organization of an industrial army of conquest, as his social Utopia a system of specialization akin to the ant-

¹Layton, Introduction to "Malthus" in the "Everyman Series". Wattal, "The Population Problem in India". More, "Fecundity *versus* Civilization".

hill or the state described by H. G. Wells as existing in the moon, where one man is a helpless brain, and another a brainless muscle? Even apart from this, even conceding the doctrine of social organization, that the individual exists in and for the State—does the State exist for industrialism? Is industrial success a sufficient reward for such a concession of individual liberties?

Supposing you are the said "individual" and not the organizing demi-god, how does it seem to you?

CHAPTER III.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION.

SPECIFIC education postulates the hive or ant-hill type of society. It aims at specialization of individuals into functions of society. Tinkering, tailoring, soldiering are functions of society. The theorist of specific education takes the sailor's son and moulds him into a super-sailor and the son of the tinker into a super-tinker, a maker of German tin toys. The individual is sacrificed to the social need; or rather, as the supporter of this theory would maintain, the individual existing only in virtue of society, can exist only by satisfying a social need, can exist only as the complement of a social need, as a cog-wheel where one is needed in the social machine.

Types of Society.—There are two types of society to be found in the Animal Kingdom, the highly organized and highly specialized organization of the ant-hill or the hive where individual development has thus been sacrificed to social need, and the unorganized herd of cattle or wolves where individual development is of chief importance, the social organization being so lax that the individual efficiency of the units determines the effectiveness of the whole. Society here depends on the individual, and exists to subserve the development of efficient individuals.

It may or may not be fanciful to trace the same difference in human societies. In the German culture of the State as the supreme good, there is bound to be

sacrifice of individual power. There must be extreme specialization. High development of industry demands that some men become mere thinking machines designed for research only; that there should be some whose manhood has so completely run into highly specialized skill that their general thinking power, and their physical development is stunted. On the other hand, there are those for whom, according to the philosophy of the superman, the State exists, men of more than ordinary physical and mental development. These are the soldiers and the governing class. They exist as parasites on the specialized organization beneath. We might compare them to the soldier-ant. One point, however, is forgotten in this scheme. The aristocratic product which is to justify the system is just as specialized and incomplete as the drone on whom it depends. The superman is specialized in physique and in culture; he is deficient in just those qualities which the drudge possesses,—unpretentious qualities of industry, manual skill, etc., but necessary qualities to the make-up of a complete individual. For the sake of a necessarily incomplete product, the soldier-ant, the rest of the community is sacrificed. It would never be possible to produce and maintain such a number of these aristocrats as to overcome the strength of a community all of whose citizens though perhaps ideally less perfect, are less specialized, more adaptable and, moreover, preserved from degeneracy by the struggle for life. In this lies the secret of the success of the mammals in evolution. Their success is due partly to their absence of specialization.¹ It is due equally to the fact that this very absence of specialization has prevented too complex a social organization. The stress has remained on individual development. The two causes are

¹ Bergson, "Creative Evolution," English edition, p. 133 *et seq.*

connected; social organization gives rise to division of labour and specialization. Specialization, owing to the excess of some qualities and the absence of others, gives rise to social organization. As Bergson shows, the specialist tendency has always proved fatal: it is Nature's repeated mistake; it is the pitfall of evolution. It leads to a temporary increase of power doomed through the change of circumstances to inevitable disaster.

Let us examine in the light of this argument the theory of compensatory education, if theory it can be called. Its aim is not, as in the Specific Theory, social organization, but individual development. It is the Evolutionary Theory of Education. As a complete theory I have seen it nowhere stated. It is rather an instinct on which much of our educational system is based. Sometimes it is ill expressed in an argument for liberal education. Its results are often forcibly attacked by the votaries of the specific creed. The specific school have a clear argument on their side; their opponents, lacking a clearly stated case, are worsted yet unconvinced.

The Argument for Compensatory Education.—So long as civilization was in a more or less elementary stage of development, the restraints it imposed were felt as natural and obvious good.

In the earliest stage¹ the demands of civilization were enforced by appeal to a divine sanction: the benefits were ascribed to a benignant God.

The more developed and more complex civilization of the Greeks brought a realization of the organization as a construction of the intellect: they examined it intellectually: the organization being rational, breach of it was felt to be a blunder.

A still greater development of civilization² brings a

¹ Hobhouse, "Morals in Evolution," Part II, chap. i.,

² *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

greater sense of restraint, a sense of harmful restraint. What was originally merely a control over animal nature begins to affect the animal nature, by its control. As a control it is unimpeachable so long as its original postulates—the nature of the being controlled—remain the same. Those postulates being changed, doubt arises as to the perfect inspiration or absolute rationality of the system. This feeling is first found in the protest of Rousseau, a condemnation of civilization too sweeping and too reactionary (as being the first), yet resulting in the supplanting of an over-organized society with over-specialization of the units, by one of laxer system, laying more stress on individual development and responsibility.

The modern view of ethics no longer assumes the absolute rightness of civilization. It tends rather in the opposite direction, to assume the absolute unmodifiability of instinct. It assumes instinct and man's nature as the fundamental postulate. Civilization is an artificial structure gradually evolved, not yet perfected.

Civilization is a necessary restraint, but it is an imperfect restraint; on the whole it does good, but it may do harm.

The problem is to reconcile development of civilization with avoidance of the danger that we may lose the first postulate, that which we are civilizing, our animal nature, our manhood which is the subject of civilization may be lessened or disappear. An ideal solution will lead on the one hand, to increased social organization, co-ordination of the parts, and on the other, to continuous development of the parts as units perfect in themselves.

The danger we wish to avoid is social adaptation, social evolution of the individual, whereby the individual becomes a more and more specialized, more and more dependent portion of a structure complete only in the whole.

Causes of Specialization.—Such specialization arises from—

1. Society.
2. Nationality.
3. Occupation.

1. *Society.*—Rousseau's idea of the "unspoiled man" is nowadays seldom taken seriously. Man's social evolution has not been the history of a gradual falling away from primitive perfection. The civilized man has many good qualities which the most favourable specimens of primitiveness cannot be shown to possess. But the importance given in modern psychology to instinct leads us to grant more attention to one side of Rousseau's doctrine. Beneath the surface of the civilized individual, however perfect, there lies an essential basis of necessary instincts, forms of the Will to Live, exactly the same as those which guided the life of his primitive ancestor. The sentiments and higher feelings of justice, patriotism, and the like, which are the chief pride and distinguishing mark of civilization, are, according to McDougall,¹ complexes of instinct. Bergson² depicts man as a creature of instinct who has rejected the guidance of instinct to put intellect in its place. By intellect and in response to the needs of a social structure based upon intellect we have modified and grouped instincts. But the instincts remain.

They remain very often in a state of protest against the bondage they suffer. A suppressed tendency breaks to the surface of the ordered social life of the mind in the form of hysteria or insanity.³ Freud's exposition is

¹ McDougall, "Social Psychology".

² "Creative Evolution," chap. ii.

³ Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams,"—or, easier and also less unpleasant reading—Hart, "Insanity" (Cambridge Manuals).

somewhat metaphorical, but his case is well supported. In dreams also the crude psychological bases of civilization stretch their captive limbs.

The social life results in restraint of a certain part of a man. The modification and combination of instincts into sentiments has not given them full scope. The sexual instinct is changed and diverted into a parent's and a husband's love. But there is something left unexpressed. The fighting instinct finds scope in moral indignation, in the friendly rivalry of business, and the less friendly of politics and litigation. But there is an unpaid balance which our primitive selves are always demanding.

Not many years ago we should have bluntly refused payment and agreed to a doctrine of checking and killing the "desires of the flesh". But the modern psychologist has increasing doubts of such Calvinistic ethics. Instinct cannot be so suppressed; or if it be suppressed some price has to be paid. The price may be insanity, or may be eccentricity; it is always a loss of happiness, and a loss of mental efficiency. It is not the instinct which is wrong; for the instinct is a basis. It is modifiable, but it cannot be denied. The fault lies with the social architect, who has not used his materials well: there is something to which he has not given expression.

Instinct cannot be denied. We should say rather it must not be denied. The revolts of the instinct might in time, in successive generations, become fewer, and the instinct suffer decrease or even total extinction. The extinction comes by elimination of those in whom the instinct was stronger. The pugnacious man in a peaceable folk has small chances of social and pecuniary success sufficient for him to raise a family: the extreme case would find himself in the hands of the law. Moreover,

the long suppression of the instinct alone results in diminution of its strength.

An instinct might be eliminated. But is it worth the cost? We cannot create new instincts. We can only build out of existing materials. By eliminating an instinct we eliminate one of our materials; we decrease the capital of civilization. Moreover, the individual from whom this source of power is eliminated is not a better being; he is a lesser being; a defective, a mental eunuch. The sum total of all the instincts is the Will to Live, the elimination of an instinct is the elimination of part of the Will to Live. Elimination is not a solution of the question. The problem is to build men into a society, adapting but not spoiling the original materials. Human society is not worth having if its units cease to be men.

2. *Nationality*. — Differences of national character might be psychologically expressed as differences in the comparative power of instincts. Fundamentally one man's motive forces in life are as another's; he is $a + b + c + d$, etc.

An Englishman is $2a + b + 3c + \frac{d}{2}$

A Russian is $a + \frac{b}{2} + 2c + 2d$.

So in original. But a State is the outcome of national difference. It gives better expression to the forces out of which it arises than any other state. Owing to contrary imitation it tends to embody extreme national differences. A Frenchman brought up in England would be less of a Frenchman than one educated in France. There is here a certain restraint of the characteristics. A Frenchman brought up in France tends to be more of a Frenchman than he would ordinarily be. For a nation

tends to be expressive of the extreme plus variation. The more self-conscious the nation the more does this tend to be the case. Even if this be denied; if a national state is an average there is still restraint, restraint above as well as below the average.

3. *Occupational*.—Every occupation is more or less incomplete as a form of self-expression. The professional occupations neglect the physical nature of a man. Manual employments neglect the mental nature of a man. The low-skilled labour of the factory demands neither intelligence nor muscle.

Some occupations are, as we saw in a previous chapter, more expressive than others.

The work of a doctor is more intellectually self-expressive than the work of a clerk. The work of a soldier or an athlete is more expressive of the normal instincts of a healthy man than that of a porter.

But it is impossible to find any one occupation which is so nicely balanced in the proportion of mental and physical labour required, so varied in the nature of its tasks as to give opportunity to all the instincts of man, as to form in itself a complete expression. Perhaps agriculture or soldiering is the nearest approach.

Every employment then has a narrowing effect; every worker feels this narrowing influence, this absence of full expression. Hence arises the phenomenon of play, a peculiarly human institution in two features:—

1. The adult human being plays more than any other nature.

2. His play is more widely divorced from his daily work than that of any other creature.¹

The play of a dog is merely a freer and less serious version of his ordinary activities. The play of a man is the opposite, it is the *antidote* of his ordinary activities.

¹ Gross, "The Play of Animals"; "The Play of Man".

The importance of this antidote is still seriously underestimated. If the less expressive professions are insufficiently compensated there arises the struggle towards the more expressive, resulting in those evils of "selective education" which have been already described. There is no man who would not prefer the high remuneration of productive employment to the low salaries of professional work if as a producer he were assured of the compensating advantages of some opportunities for intellectual self-expression outside his work. Nor would the physical degeneration of the professional and clerical classes be so marked were their work sufficiently compensated by physical activities.

The absence of complete self-expression results in stunting and warping of development, physical or mental. Instead of the evenly developed collection of individuals characteristic of the mammal, we tend towards narrowing and specialization, existence as a tribe only, not as individuals. To put it in terms of world-politics, the result is a tendency towards the Teutonic state, and the philosophy of "the state above all," instead of the British democratic ideal, the individual and the state merely as an instrument for the development and expression of the individuals.

Man's nature protests against this narrowing process. The absence of complete expression in his life forces him to look for means whereby to express his confined instincts. The instincts revolt against their bondage. Revolt is an abnormal phenomenon ; it finds the abnormal expression. Sexual abnormality is always the result of suppression of the sexual instinct. So too the desire for intellectual play which would normally have found its outlet in harmless and profitable literary or scientific occupations, breaks out if suppressed into noisy and ill-

considered propagandism. Cheap journalism is a pander to the desire of the unintellectual for the sense of intellectuality. Had they a continuous intellectual antidote to the narrowing tendencies of their occupations, the cheap press, the crude revolutionism, the self-important mob-display which mars party politics would not exist. Nor yet a great deal of the politics of industrialism, and the neurotic side of Trade Unionism.

The philosophy of Nietzsche is permeated by the peculiar physical circumstances of the author. It is the expression of a sense of physical incapacity. The book does not attract the incurable weakling; it attracts the man of potential physical powers which by occupational or other causes are cut off from realization. It is a profound truth that if the Germans had been less concentrated, more addicted to leisure occupations, especially of an athletic nature, the history of that country would have been very different.

I would—admittedly on the basis of too little experience for dogmatism—attribute much of the Bengali schoolboy's political aberrations simply to the absence of physical self-expression.¹ The schoolboy dacoity is nothing new. It has an exact parallel in the gangs of New York and Chicago described in Stanley Hall's "Adolescence".² These at one time became a most serious problem, and the cure was the Fraternity System and a development of boys' clubs, specially for athletics but also for general amusements. There was in that case no political covering to disguise the true diagnosis of the case, viz. that if an instinct is not given normal expression it will find abnormal expression. This is doubly true of the instincts of a growing boy.

¹ B. Ch. Pal, in "Nationality and Empire," holds this view also.

² Op. cit. i. 360; ii. 396.

We might proceed to find the same underlying cause in the litigiousness of the East, and "bibad" and "golmal" which are its perpetual feature. A man has a fighting instinct. The requirements of society demand its suppression. Suppression is a psychological impossibility ; diversion is the only means. A river may be diverted, but it cannot be permanently dammed ; it will either accumulate and break the dam, bursting out in an abnormal and dangerous force, or it will divert itself. The Englishman gives play to his instinct on the football field, and in the squabbles of party politics. If there were more football fields there would be less acrimony in party politics. It is a general statement that the Law Court is the Indian's place of relaxation, and that were there more amusements in India there would be less lawyers. This is partly true ; but mere passive entertainments would not give scope to the "bibad" instinct. More athletics, more games of every kind, indoor and out of door, would do so ; who can deny that a football match is not far more interesting and psychologically a far better katheuresis of combative instincts than a law-suit.

Compensatory Education.—The State, in giving a selective education, is largely a mere servant of private interests. In giving specific education it encroaches upon private liberties, for a public body cannot prepare employees for private enterprises ; it is impossible for it to give teaching so specialized as to adapt a man to the method of a particular factory or office better than the office or factory can train him for itself. Moreover, from the point of view of the educand, the State here exceeds its rights. A system of specific education so wide and so varied that any pupil in any place could study any subject is not possible ; nor, were it possible, would anyone be the gainer. A specific educational system is of advantage

only if it regulates its output in accordance with the requirements of the employments, whereas if it endeavours to limit in any way the freedom of choice on the part of the educand it institutes a system which bears a dangerous resemblance to slavery. If the State has the right of determining the trade for which a citizen is to be trained, why should it not also determine that he shall follow the trade for which he was trained, i.e. set him to do a certain kind of work from which he has no escape.

On the other hand, compulsory military service can hardly be called "Slavery". It avoids the name because it is public service. The modern state exists equally in virtue of its trade as of its military power. All productive employments might be considered "public service," and the same compulsion might be exercised in them as in the Army. The whole question turns on our relative estimate of the State and the individual.

If we take it that the aim is not social development in spite of the individual, but individual development in spite of society, then the educational problem becomes considerably simplified. The duty of the State is to look beyond individual interest and individual adjustment. Both may be relied upon to look after themselves. Individual interest is a self-acting force. So also is industrial and social organization. The State is not to be identified either with individual interests (the tendency of democracy), nor yet with industrial and social organization (the tendency of the monarchy or bureaucracy). It is concerned with both. Its duty is to see that neither is sacrificed to the other. In many of its departments its duty is social organization; in education its duty is to see that the individual is protected against the narrowing effects of social pressure.

This may seem a strange statement in view of the general theory of education as a training for citizens.

Undoubtedly this theory is true ; some part of the function of the school is to socialize. The school should be in touch with society ; it should itself be a social institution. It should be in touch with all aspects of the life of the society which formed it.¹ It should be in touch with industry, with the fine arts, with politics, with the professions, with the law, with municipal matters. In this sense it socializes. But just as industry may be relied on to train its recruits, so too may the law and the municipality. The same objections hold with regard to specific social training, as are valid against specific industrial training, viz. that the institution is best able to train for itself. It alone is capable of teaching its own individuality ; its actuality is the only instruction worth having. The functions of each citizen in regard to it are far too varied for it to be possible to give any anticipatory general training suited to all. The schoolboy is too immature to profit by such instruction. Lastly, such instruction postulates a certain basis. That instruction is not the substance of a man, any more than a certain industrial employment is the substance of a man. It is rather something superimposed upon a man. It postulates a man to start with. It derives its value from the manhood upon which it is laid.

The reply of the industrial employer to the Technical Educationist is "Give me a good man, and never mind about the training ; I will see to that ". The same applies also to social training. Put a healthy and manly schoolboy into a well-organized municipality and he will become a useful citizen. Let a healthy and manly schoolboy be subjected to the ordinary religious influences of a country place, and if the religion has any value it will make a good Christian of him.

¹ Dewey, " The School and Society ",

But the most perfect citizenship, the most noble religion which is not laid upon a basis of manhood and developed individuality is worthless.

Every activity of society has a right to be represented in the school. But the fundamental duty of the school is to supply the raw material of a citizen. It may shape the material slightly, but the essential thing is the material. It will allow no premature modifying process to interfere with the perfect maturing of the natural product upon which the whole ultimate success of the operation depends.

A specific school can make drones, but it cannot make workmen. It can make slaves, but it cannot make citizens. It can make priests, but it cannot make Christians. Work, citizenship, Christianity are things which are imposed upon the postulates of a perfect man. The school should make the men on whom these things will fall.

Continuation Compensatory Education.—It is not enough for the school to see that society starts with good material. It must make sure that it does not mar the material in its use. There are a thousand influences in the State to socialize a man. There is not one to keep him a man and an individual. This is the duty of continuation education. It is the antidote against the narrowing and emasculating effects of society. As in the beginning it gave the State a man to start with, so in the aftermath it keeps its parallel influence upon him, giving a safe relief and outlet for those impulses which society ever restrains. Where society narrows, it opens new compensating lines of activity, relieving pressure, preventing warping. Where society socializes, it builds a new and stronger basis of virility to give reality to the restraining influence.

The Nature of the Education.—Anything that suppresses in education is wrong. By this I do not mean

that there should be no discipline. Discipline is most fundamental. Impulses must be guided, diverted, delayed. The boy must learn to guide, divert, and delay. But every activity must find an outlet in one way or another, at one time or another, else the education is incomplete. The school should express the whole of a boy. It should express it so fully that never afterwards can any part of his nature be destroyed or stifled. It should teach him means of self-expression. Continuation education should see that the opportunities for those means of expression follow him through life. The content of education is all that a boy takes a joy in doing. This does not cut out the "dull subjects". Those things are dull which prevent a boy from expressing himself. There is nothing dull except bad teaching which prevents a boy from working, and a bad curriculum which gives the right thing at the wrong time.

The schoolmaster often complains of the flippancy of the parents who say, "I do not care what my boy does so long as he is happy". The parent is right, and the school is wrong. It is the boy who is happy who is the successful product of the school. The boy who is happy is being educated, is developing. The boy who is unhappy is the boy whose development is being checked.

I have little doubt that if a census were taken of the "hundred best men" and of the hundred happiest school-boys, we should find those lists far more correspondent than "the hundred best men" and the hundred highest scholastic successes.

National Compensatory Education.—There is a greater question than that of individual development, namely, national development. A nation, like an individual, has certain excesses and certain defects in its character. The

self-education of an individual consists largely in the attempt to remedy these known defects.

Nations like individuals change their characteristics, and they change them willingly. They change them by purposive imitation of those well endowed in the features they themselves lack. One noticeable instance of this is the French imitation of certain features of English character, and the counter imitation by the English of certain aspects of French culture.

Such imitation brings to the imitated a self-consciousness. To see oneself imitated is to realize one's strong points; to realize one's strong points is—very soon—to realize also one's weak points.

The basis of compensatory education is a sense of defect. Each individual is in some way imperfect. Environment tends to make him yet more imperfect. A national defect is a flaw running through the raw material. The school must do more than develop the child to be himself; it must develop himself to be more than himself, a perfected and supplemented member of his race.

To enter into the question of particular national virtues and defects would be an invidious matter.¹

¹ Amongst many the following references may be interesting as dealing mainly with Bengal. They are, I think, fairly representative of the less ephemeral writings:—

Chailley, "Administrative Problems of British India," pp. 15, 62, 67, 144, 198, 247 *et seq.*

Andrew Fraser, "Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots," pp. 13, 27, 38, 49, 77, 92, 296.

S. C. Bose, "Hindus as They Are," chap. xv.

Chatterton, "Indian Industrial Development," p. 6 *et seq.*

Castairs, "Little World of a District Officer," pp. 102-3, 359.

"Bengal Jail Dietaries" ("Scientific Memoirs," No. 37, new series), pp. 177 *et seq.*, 200 *et seq.*

"Scientific Memoirs," No. 34. This is a very interesting treatise.

² Bamphyld Fuller, "India Life and Sentiment," pp. 135, 139, 308, 319, 341-7.

Practical Application.—It may be said, "What is the practical outcome of all this?" It occurs in a thousand details of the daily life of anyone engaged in education. The settlement of the minutest case brings in our fundamental philosophy of what is the purpose of it all. Are school games an item or the essential? Should the school library consist of technical and instructive books, or of story books and such things as healthy boys love? Is a "Boy's common room" a fad or a necessity? Is it waste of money to furnish it sumptuously and beautifully? Do we need scholars or athletes for our teachers, thoughtful and conscientious, or happy even if careless men? Shall we risk a little inefficiency in scholastic instruction in favour of a teacher who gets pleasure out of his life? Is the happiness or melancholy of a teacher a minor consideration? Which is more important, the happiness of the schoolboy, or the fulfilment of a curriculum of "useful" subjects? Is it desirable that all should be educated? Would you persuade the urchin laughing in the dust of the roadside to go into the primary school? Why? Shall the ryot be strenuously persuaded to send his son to the High school? Why?

We are all children playing in the light of God's sunshine; sometimes we neglect to provide the toys, but do we not more often mistake toys for happiness, and cramp ourselves in the preparation for our play? What are we aiming at? Our aim is to produce a vast sieve

Foley, "Report on Labour in Bengal," pp. 14, 19, 22, 26.

"Siri Ram, Revolutionist," is an interesting study of an Eastern morbid adolescence, but it does not deal with Bengal.

Thacker, "Rural Life in Bengal—1860," is an interesting study of the uneducated. May be read alongside "Bengal Peasant Life" of Lal Behari Dey.

On the experimental side very little has been done except McCay's two works. Dr. Segard, the Director of Physical Education, has collected some statistics, but nothing has been published yet.

stretched underneath the whole country, so that through it we may shake youth, and leave but a few battered pebbles on top. Are we not washing for a little gold, and in the process casting away and spoiling tons of very useful gravel? I think it is what we are doing. There is a saying, "Every-one has a right to be educated". There is another saying, "This district is a very backward district. It deserves a school." The not-unhappy, not-unhealthy, quiet outlying village has a right to its chance in the sieve. Does it do it good?

If our aim is selection, why then any school which admits the boy's ticket into the drawing of the lottery, any school is good enough; any school is as good as any school, and the cheapest school is better than the expensive school; because, obviously, why pay more for the same ticket?

If our aim is compensatory education, then the quality of the school is the one thing that matters. Does it make the boy a better boy than his parents? Does it teach him to be strong where they were weak, honest where they were a little lax, straightforward where they were a little crooked, polite where they were a little crude.

If compensation, if development not up to a present standard, but up to an ideal which will gradually unfold itself, be our aim, then it is first-rate schools we need, even if it takes time to get them, schools where the parents will pay gold for golden service, where the teachers are chosen by character, not by degree, where they are paid according to quality, not according to minimum nominal value, schools where body and behaviour are more than learning and examinations.

Such schools are expensive, not in buildings but in staffing. Even the best of men will not starve in a pre-

carious billet for the sake of an ideal. Starving idealists are not what we need. We need healthy, full-blooded realists who will say, "I know my value, pay me it, or do without me".

Can we hope that—one day—that modest sense of self-deficiency will awaken which will say, not "We do this, we are this," but "We are this and would have our sons that"—though "that" may be something very strange to us, something we can hardly understand because it is not yet in us, a clear sign that we need it most?

If that is the attitude, then let us not ask for cheapness, but for expense; not for buildings, but for playgrounds; not for B.A.'s, but for teachers of physique and of character; not for examinations, but for men.

Criticism.—Let us consider the weak points of the theory. In the first place it is not very clear what the schools will teach. A "compensatory course" seems rather difficult to reduce to details. This difficulty is not insuperable. I take it that the essence of the matter lies rather in comparative stress than in new subjects. The course will consist as it does at present in Literature, Science, History, in Sports, manual occupations, and the work of school discipline. More stress will be laid than at present on the last three subjects. The work of the school will be to make the boy live a complete life, active in every direction. The school will be little different from an ordinary English Public School, save that it will be a Public School which has realized itself, which has come to understand the secret of its own success, namely, its social organization and activity, instead of pretending, as now, that the class subjects are really of importance, and the games and discipline only secondary. It is a Public School run very much as an ordinary boy would

like it to be run. Whereas the Continuation school is practically what the Y.M.C.A. is doing to-day, more perhaps in America than in England. It is an organization for helping people to enjoy themselves, to keep themselves active, physically and mentally, in leisure time. The value of the work cannot be over-estimated; it sounds so simple and unimportant only because our serious minds have so perverted a series of values.

The second objection is more important. It cannot be denied that such work as is described above is of very great value, that its importance is under-estimated, but is it really a sufficient basis for a national system of education? Would it reform the nation, make men out of weaklings, and gentlemen out of boors? It would certainly do a great deal more than the present system. But there are some things which it would not do. It would make something better of the material we have got, but it would not raise the quality of the material. It sets out to affect, above all, character and physique. In these two matters heredity counts for more than all environmental influence. The selective effect of the Primary and Secondary system as they are to-day has probably greater effect in increasing the number of good men and decreasing the number of weaklings than any non-selective system could have. It has more effect because its effect is permanent and cumulative. Compensatory education as described is a medicine; it may cure and patch up the weak, it may strengthen the strong. But its effect is superficial compared with the blotting out of the weak, and the multiplication of the strong. Two children of a strong man are of more value than two weaklings patched into a semblance of manhood. It is a valuable system but not as valuable as selection properly worked.

Moreover, it postulates an impossibility. It is set up as an alternative to selection, as an evasion of the dilemma of specific or selective education, the evils of both of which we have already seen. It is not an alternative. It is merely an amplification. It may be added to either system. The course in the schools of a selective system may be compensatory; so also may be part of the course in a specific system. Compensatory education does not touch the problem of social adjustment. It does not show by what means we are going to appoint the new generation to their posts of duty, their functions in the social system.

In itself it does not; but in combination with a selective system it does. If the education represents what the nation wishes to become, while teaching those particular characteristics it can simultaneously select those who conform best to the ideal.

This is true, but by what machinery will such selection be made? The reintroduction of the selective method introduces all the evils we have already condemned—multiplication of inferior schools, the burden of examinations, the *déclassés*. •

If the education given is such as we have described, it is clear that examination as a test is impossible. It is obvious that the inferior school is totally incapable of giving the education. It is obvious that the selection must be largely, if not entirely, personal; that, such being the case, the power of selection of men can be entrusted only to schools approved and accredited according to very strict rules by the State. It is obvious also, that if the head master of such a school be trusted with so responsible a work as this selection, he must logically be trusted to manage his school entirely as he pleases. So responsible a person cannot be tied down to a curriculum

of this and that. Either he is satisfactory or he is not. The responsibility must rest with the man, and it will be merely misleading to endeavour to compensate for insufficiency by official mechanism. It will merely conceal the defect.

After all there is nothing very startling about this combination of the two systems. The house-master's letter is worth more than the leaving tests of the Public School. The Oxford tutor's testimonial is worth more to a man than his degree in the schools. "I am a B.A." means little in England. The next question is, "What University, what College?" and then, "What does his tutor say of him?"

In fact it amounts to this, there is no education save the influence of man on man. Neither books nor studies nor skill can take the place of it. It cannot be tested nor standardized. There is no hall-mark or qualification equal to the opinion of man about man. Opinions cannot be standardized into degrees or B.A.s or M.A.s. They are individual. "One of Arnold's boys," with a commendation from the great schoolmaster, this is the highest distinction ever conferred by an English school. It is worth its face value.

The compensatory theory may help an educational system, but it does not solve the social problem in itself. As a supplement to the selective system it affords a more complete proposal.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL IDEAS.

WE have seen three distinct theories of education. We find in each theory a deficiency. Each theory answers the educator's question, "What shall I give?" and is modified by the recipient's proviso, "What am I willing to accept?" • Let us view the problem from a new aspect: "What education does the State require?" This is not a narrow and ephemeral political question, but the large and permanent problem: "For the sake of the permanence of our society, for the sake of the progressive evolution of mankind, which is the right education?"

We must examine our theories of the State, what it should do, and what we want it to be; not deep philosophical theories, but the ordinary thoughtful and decently read man's questions of democracy versus aristocracy, popular rule or bureaucratic control. Our ideas have changed a good deal lately in these things.

As we examine these questions we shall consider which form of education best fits in with our ideals, which best serves the great social purpose which we set before us.

*Democracy and Aristocracy.*¹—At the time of the French Revolution there were two distinct types of political theory—the theory of Rights and the theory

¹ "Liberalism" (Home University Library). "Conservatism" (Home University Library). Delisle Burns, "Political Ideals," chap. vii.

of Duties. The theory of Rights emphasized the individual's right to order his own life, his right to be happy. The opposing school emphasized his duty as a member of the State to subserve the benefit of the governing class, as being the head of the State of which he is a subject; it emphasized the power of the State to compel him to his duty as a member of society. In fact, the opposition was between Rights and Compulsion.

Modern Liberalism admits the necessity of compulsion. It interferes with the individual in a way which would have horrified any of the early Liberals of the Laissez-faire school. It goes further than the doctrine of man's Right to be Happy, to the doctrine of Compulsion to be Happy. It would seem that the point of difference between the two forms of thought has disappeared, and the dispute is now merely as to the degree of compulsion which may legitimately be exercised.

Government for Evolution or for the Mass.—This is not correct. The distinction remains. The Liberal school acts upon the doctrine that the State exists in order to ensure the well-being of all its members. For this purpose it is obvious that the members must co-operate with the State. The opposing doctrine maintains that the individuals exist for the benefit of the State, and the function of the State is not to ensure the benefit of all but the selection and nurture of the best. The benefit of the ordinary citizen is not the chief aim, but the benefit of the organization which largely rests in the evolution of future members better than the present, a future aristocracy to fill the places of the present mingled herd.

The Aristocrat in Government for the Mass.—One theory is not aristocratic as opposed to the other democratic. In both cases an aristocrat is necessary. As

Hugh Taylor¹ shows in his recent volume, it is the greatest mistake to suppose that democracy is government *by* the people. The House of Commons is not a Legislative assembly. A legislative assembly initiates legislation. The House of Commons does not initiate. Initiative arises from the Cabinet. The Commons have a power of veto. The proposal has to be *passed* by them. The House of Commons never initiated a proposal or drafted a Bill. The people select those who are to exercise their power of veto. The efficiency of the Government depends firstly upon the quality of the Cabinet, and only secondly upon the quality of the consultative house from which the Cabinet is selected. The members of the Cabinet are distinctly an aristocracy. The value of democratic government consists in the fact that there is free opportunity for the best man to rise to the top. There is less possibility of the right man being excluded from power by a hereditary incompetent.

The Aristocrat in Government for Evolution.—In the other case of government not for the mass but for the superman, the aristocrat is equally necessary. He need not perforce be a hereditary aristocrat. The government may be based upon a system of ensuring the evolution of its aristocracy by a system of selection of the best from all ranks. The essential difference lies only in the purpose of the government, whether it is government for the benefit of all, or for the benefit of the best.

The Aristocrat in Mass Government.—The two points of view are seen in Wells² and in Nordeau, both "Aris-

¹ Hugh Taylor, "Government by Natural Selection". See also Manc, "Popular Government," and Godkin, "Some Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy".

² "The Research Magnificent" is the best summary of his maturer political ideas. "The New Machiavelli" is more complete but less definite.

tocrats". Wells rails at democracy as commonly expounded; the people, he says, have no will, and such little as they have is a sediment of selfishness and stupidity, the only thing which is common to all mankind.¹ He scorns the theory of "Liberty" as the *summum bonum* of the political idealist. The Serb, the Armenian, the Bulgarian, the Moroccan are free, and they kill each other in bloodthirsty vendettas. They commit every sin because there is none to restrain them; they lack every virtue because there is none to compel them. It is nonsense to say that the common factor of a lot of stupid egoistic people contains more wisdom or justice than the mature thought of an intellectual man. It is nonsense to say that the people are better off fouling their nest in a hundred stupid selfish ways than living under the wise compulsion of a benevolent despot. In fact, says Wells, we need a "Benevolent Aristocrat," a person who will give up his life to Aristocracy, and his aristocracy to the service of others.

That is all very well. That is what the clergyman is supposed to do, and on that supposition no small part of his power in the Middle Ages was based. But how many are there, who, being and knowing that they are better than other people, are ready to give up their lives to the service of creatures—selfish, stupid creatures, inferior to themselves.

The Aristocrat in Evolutionary Government (Norðeau). —Max Norðeau² denies that man is by nature a social animal. Before the ice age he was a simple individualist like all the other mammals. His only social act was the sexual, and once the mating season was past he relapsed

¹ See Ross, "Social Psychology". Tarde, "Social Laws". Martin Conway, "The Crowd in Peace and War," chap. ii.

² "The Interpretation of History," chaps. iv., v., vi.

into egoism. The ice age compelled man either to adapt himself to new circumstances or to adapt new circumstances to himself. He chose the latter course. He learned to make nature work for him, and by a very easy extension of the same process he learned to make animals and his fellow-men his slaves. A parasite on nature, he became a parasite also upon his fellow-men. His god, a thing for propitiation and sacrifice, is an arch-parasite, the embodiment of early man's ideal of a chief. The supremacy of the chieftain arose out of social need and conduced to social good. He is the leader in battle. His social power is based upon man's one social instinct, that of comradeship in battle—compare wolves. Religion is a device for compelling obedience, by fear or by a far-removed hope. Morality is the creed of the weak combining against the strong. The chief first taught the advantages of combination for the purpose of inter-tribal parasitism. His subjects apply the lesson in resisting oppression of the chief. In early days the ruler is frankly selfish; he knows himself to be strongest, and he frankly sets himself to use his strength to the full. The most and the best of everything is his right. At a later stage, when inter-tribal competition becomes more and more acute, he realizes that excessive exploitation of his subjects is bad policy. The well-fed subject is a good soldier; the starved and rebellious slave is not. More than that, the intelligent man is a good soldier, the letterless bumpkin is not. Hence he sees that his subjects are not over-taxed but receive some education. The State increases in size, and more and more servants become necessary; it is to the advantage of the ruler to exploit his subjects' intelligence, and use the selected best of their brains on his side. Hygiene, education, justice, order, are all advantageous to the ruler. The

wise despot is benevolent. But there is always a struggle between ruler and ruled. Each new discovery is used by the despot as a means for increased parasitism, but he cannot prevent the spread of the knowledge, and in time the weapon is turned against himself. Progress in history consists in an increasing realization by the despot of the advantages of benevolence. It consists also in an increasing realization by the ruled of the advantages of despotism. Combination and self-sacrifice are necessary, and they do not inevitably connote loss of liberty and submission to exploitation. There is a natural selection amongst subject-peoples, for the people without rule and without combination is open to attack, and is bound sooner or later to be subdued to a ruler. There is selection amongst rulers, for the weak ruler needs little force for his ejection; the malevolent ruler arraigns the strength of the people against him, the clever and the strong subjects who would serve the benevolent ruler give their services to the previously incompetent and innocuous opposition.

Nordeau's tyrant is benevolent because it pays. His main consideration is the evolution of himself and of his kind.

Nordeau does not, like Wells, make his powerful monarch into a philanthropist. On the contrary, he distinctly states that great monarchs are not philanthropists, and challenges an instance.

Summary.—The essential point to observe here is that whether our political theory be the general diffusion of well-being, or whether it be the evolution of an aristocracy, to which the ordinary citizen must, if necessary, be sacrificed, as in the German State; in *either* case an aristocrat is necessary. In *either* case there must be

men better than the ordinary to stand at the head of affairs. The precise degree to which that aristocracy may be hereditary or not is of little moment. The hereditary aristocracy must be recruited from outside, else it falls by the weight of its increasing incompetence, and a sudden wholesale re-selection fills its place—the very selection which would have taken place quietly and more efficiently had the aristocracy been wiser and more generous. The first condition of well-being in any State is efficient selection of an aristocracy, and this is the first duty of education.

The Benefit of All or of a Few.—The selection of this aristocracy may be a means to an end, or it may be an end in itself. It may be merely a part of our plan for securing the general welfare of all, for the general welfare demands good governors. In this case we shall not sacrifice our general educational scheme to the production of the superior being. Our educational system is devised for the general benefit, for giving to every citizen an increased potentiality of happiness: as a subsidiary work in that main process we select our rulers.

On the other hand, we may make the selection and perfection of these rulers the sole aim of our educational system. We shall still give to every citizen an education. All must be tested in order that we may select efficiently. But as soon as any citizen is found unlikely to develop up to the requisite level, he will be summarily thrust out. We have no further care for him. We may have wasted a little of his time—what does it matter. He would have been willing to risk it; it is only now that he complains. What of the waste of our time?

Or we may adopt a less harsh and more effective system. Once the citizen is found to be incapable of the supreme development—and the discovery is made at the

earliest possible moment—he will be relegated to a training which will prepare him for a place in the social organism suitable to his powers. Thus we give to all the best education we have (viz. the full education of the "superior being"); and of those found unfit we give to each the education he is worth. He has shown that he would not benefit by the "best education" even if it were given him. What we now give him is the training from which he will derive most benefit.

Which of these views is the correct one? Which is most consonant with our theory of social organization?

The Argument against Government for General Well-being.—Democracy and benevolent aristocracy set up as their aim the extension of a general standard of well-being. Let the human race live, multiply, and be happy. The only obstacle to their ideal is the selfishness of those who, taking too much, leave some with too little. They neglect to look forward to the logical consequence of their argument. The human race can be multiplied without limit: its means of maintenance cannot. It is possible to calculate, allowing for the cultivation of every possible productive area, the total amount of food-stuff which the world can produce in a year, and there is a limit.¹ Whereas the limitation to the possible increase of population, if there be any, is far beyond that mark. Nothing short of sheer destitution will prevent reproduction—such destitution that the parents are unable to produce, or that the mother is unable to suckle. It is not in the nature of normal man, still less so of woman, to forego children for the sake of a certain number of luxuries. In the scale of instincts the satisfaction of the reproductive impulse is of more value than the fulfilment

¹ Malthus' *Essay on "Population,"* chaps. I.-III.

of superfluous requirements of self-preservation. Only self-preservation itself has power against it, and not always that.

It is obvious that a time must come when there are more people than there is food for them. The standard of living will tend always to fall to the barest subsistence. Increase the corn, and the birth-rate increases. To a certain extent means of production may increase and improve to meet the increasing demand. But a time must come when they can do this no longer. A time must come when there are too many people in the boat, and it is a matter of sheer physical struggle as to who shall be thrown out. Actually the struggle is likely to come before that crisis. As the burden of population increases, the standard of comfort will fall lower and lower. To a certain point men will find it more comfortable to suffer. But when life has no longer any pleasure in it, it is more comfortable to risk life for a pudding. There is the excitement and the chance of gain instead of the monotony of despair.

The Need for Present Elimination of the Unfit.—The whole basis of such democracy is at fault. To serve the well-being of all now is simply to court future destruction; we starve good men to feed epileptics and unemployables, and in so doing we nourish and support the army of useless blood and flesh which in the future we shall have to destroy. The war of the future will be uncertain and costly. Whereas it would cost us nothing to kill the utterly vile now. On the contrary, it would be a big saving, whereas the existence of the not wholly vile but very inferior may be made subject to his utility to the development of the better man. This would be a big saving. It would be a big progress, for by a continual cutting off of the inferior we continually distil

the best part of mankind into a finer and nobler being. The aim of government is not a vague and general benevolence, but a reasonable selection and elimination.

The Method of Elimination.—Certain extreme statements of this doctrine have rendered it ridiculous, and to a certain extent it is inherently unpopular. Popular Eugenists have done much harm to a good argument. Men cannot be bred like cattle; mathematical calculations and the uncertain measures of experimental psychology will never be accepted as evidence in a matter of life and death. When we speak of elimination we do not refer to such fantasies as these. Elimination is possible because it has been done. During the childhood of our great-grandfathers men were hanged for "bad livelihood," and imprisoned for business incompetence. The administration of these laws which now we call "harsh" was in the hands of landed-gentry unselected by any intellectual test—narrow-minded, prejudiced, selfish, utterly incompetent as the recipients of so great a responsibility. This does not prove the wrongness of the laws; it proves the wrongness of the administrators. The abolition of the laws is simply a confession of failure to find men honest or intelligent enough to administer them. It is absolutely reasonable that the fraudulent company promoter who vanishes with millions of other people's money, the "footler" whose life is one long history of parasitism by bad debts upon petty tradesmen should be lodged in the Fleet. The utter scoundrel who contributes nothing to the general well-being, who exists simply by theft, and steers a skilful course through the Statute Book, suffering those gentle and, to the State, costly punishments devised for the momentarily misguided, and avoiding not by conscience but by cunning

those laws which would give him a just reward, such need elimination. The law is mechanical. Its great defect is that it has to judge each offence as an individual case; and it must judge it apart from motives, it must award punishment apart from consideration of effect. It is an attempt to substitute machinery for human intelligence because it dare not trust the common sense of its administrators. It has been castrated because of the misuse of its old effective powers by ineffective judges.

These old laws had their effect. It is most certain that for one Dickensian hero who suffered injustice, fifty petty knaves were cheaply eliminated to the great benefit of society.

Degradation.—This process of social grading does not consist only in cutting off; it consists also in putting down. The incompetent factory-hand starves. The incompetent undergraduate slips through a pass degree, and lives as a parson or a school teacher on the salary of a competent factory-hand. If he had had his deserts he would be in a doss-house or on the Embankment with the dismissed mill-worker. It takes more folly, idleness, stupidity, to bring one educated man to the Embankment than ten, twenty, thirty uneducated. Failure in education never yet left a man lower than he started. It leaves him where he was, before he started; usually, if there was no flagrant vice in the case, higher. The out-cast of the Secondary school has a better chance of a job (if he will take what he gets) than his brother who never went there.

The business of social grading is to see that in no case is superior intelligence wasted upon inferior work. But its duty is also to see that in no case is superior work wasted on inferior intelligence. We cannot cut off the hindermost from a mingled rabble in which the captain,

and the camp-follower and the corporal are jumbled at the tail of the column.

Effective degradation is the necessary corollary of effective promotion. It is the essential antecedent of elimination. It often saves the necessity of elimination; many if not most of the worst failures are men who have been set to jobs too difficult for them. Fitted into their proper sphere they become useful members.

Elimination is inevitable. But before we eliminate we must grade.

If we are to degrade and eliminate not in haste but at leisure, not by hurried guess-work but by glaring certainty, we must degrade and eliminate now and continuously. Why do we not?

The Reason why Elimination is Neglected in Government.—The answer is Nationality. Were the whole world one nation, the best of Germany and France would not be perishing while Hottentots and city scum survive. The one great nation would continuously reject its worst and retain its best. As it is there is no graded and comparative rejection from mankind as a whole. Mankind is organized into many petty groups, and the rejection tends to be of groups. As a consequence no single group can afford to throw away anything. Even the vilest is of effect in the struggle. Each little group is breeding, breeding and multiplying in the endeavour to vanquish another group. The great nations of the world are breeding in a struggle who shall possess the whole world. There are at least four or five candidates for the privilege of populating the world. The test is mainly numbers; hence the crowd.

The argument upon which national selection by group conquest is based is ludicrous if the facts were not so tragic.

Let us suppose groups A, B, C, D, each consisting of ten members, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j. The members are arranged in order of merit; "j" is the worst and "a" the best. The groups are of various merit; in A "j" only is unworthy of survival; in B "i" and "j" are unworthy; in C "h," "i," "j," and in D "g," "h," "i," "j". If we proceeded rationally we should eliminate these ten members, and we are left with a collection of all good. Our elimination has cost us nothing, for the eliminated were all incompetent and vile, and so they could put up no real fight.

Instead of this each of the groups fights to survive as a whole; we might almost say fights for the survival of its vilest members, for if it were not for such there would be plenty of room for all and no need for a fight at all. In fighting to survive as a whole the group is compelled to the doctrine that any of its members is better than any member of any other group; "j" of A group is better than "a" of B group. Or in other words, the lowest, vilest drunkard of the London slums is better than General Mackensen, and, vice versa, the weakest neurotic of Berlin a better being than Kitchener or Lloyd George. An Englishman (or a German or a Frenchman) is better than any other man in the world. As a result a group sets out to annihilate another group. If the result of the conflict is the annihilation of B, our loss is eight good men, ^{10th} against a gain of only two wasters eliminated. Whereas, according to the former proposition, we abolished ten wasters at the cost of nought useful specimens.

Biologically nationality is a disaster. Perhaps politically it may be defended. In one sense a Frenchman (or other nationality) may be thought better than any other man. He is a member of a certain type of government and that is the best government of the epoch. Indi-

vidually he may be inferior, but as a receptacle of tradition, and as a representation of an institution, he is superior. In fact, war is not a natural selection of individuals, but of social institutions. The purpose of war then is the selection of the best social institution and the elimination of the worst.

The argument is not improved. If the better institution survives at the cost of a vast number of the better men, how are we gainers? The value of a State consists in the members of which it is composed. We are sacrificing the end for the means. Even if this contention be denied there still remains the incontestable fact that the best institution, if institutions be our only aim, is most likely to be attained by the best men; and in sacrificing many of the best men, we are sacrificing many of our chances of devising still better institutions. In the endeavour to establish the German monarchic system (supposing that, for the sake of argument, to be the momentary ideal), a quarter of the English and French representative assemblies, or their heirs, the pick of the constructive brains of the two nations, are blasted with gun-powder out of future participation in the Research Magnificent of mankind.

The Purpose of Government—Summary.—Let us summarize the points which we have discussed:—

1. Government is never "by the people". It is always by an aristocracy, or an aristocrat.

2. Government may be for the mass of people, or for the development of the aristocracy.

(a) If it is for the people there must be elimination at one stage. There cannot be unlimited increase of numbers and of general well-being. Hence at one stage or another the government for the people must become a government *for the best of the people*.

(b) In the case of government for the evolution of an aristocracy selection is obviously necessary. An aristocracy cannot be evolved by in-breeding.

There must always be in every type of government—

1. Selection of the best.
2. Elimination of the inferior.

The purpose of every type of government is the strengthening of the State by the evolution of a progressively better mass of citizens by continuous cutting off of the worst from the lower end and continuous selection of the best to be at the head of affairs.

We noted that this process is imperfect in actual fact. Because international jealousy causes conservatism of numbers the elimination of the inferior is not carried out. National jealousy is in one sense inevitable, because of the truth that space in the world is limited and man cannot therefore go on increasing without limit. But if elimination were international, this danger might be averted without the waste of good material inevitable where selection takes place by the elimination of groups (instead of by elimination of individuals).

Education and the Purpose of Government.—The purpose of education is international individual grading, selection, and elimination.

1. *Grading.*—In the first chapter we showed that the main vice of selective education consists in the fact that it promotes but it never degrades.

We must degrade. So only can we organize, so only avoid the social danger of the classless incompetent. If a man asks to be assigned his post in the world, he must take what he is given. It is the condition of the test. The more people who enter for the test the better. If all could enter—best of all. I would have no distinction between primary and secondary education, for they assume

a hereditary classification before the test has been made. I would have no bar to prevent anyone who wishes from entering. But I would have stages and rejection. The boy who fails in Stage I goes to an artisan school. The boy who fails in Stage II goes to a technical school; in Stage III to a higher technical or lower professional school; in Stage IV to a professional school; and Stage V is State service.

I say "will go". Let it be "shall go". Education is to a very large extent financed by the State. If a boy wishes to enter the test, but is not willing to abide by the full conditions, he must pay the full price of what is given him. The education of Stage I is given to him gratis (or practically gratis as the case may be). He fails to pass into Stage II. The education for which he is thought fit is the artisan education. This will also be given to him. If he does not wish to take it then he should pay the balance due for the education given him in Stage I. He should pay every penny of what it cost.

2. *Selection*.—The second point is that we must select. We are selecting those who are to be the best citizens and to lead to better citizens. The education should be in this sense of a compensatory nature.

The selection should be consonant with the education. We are not teaching book facts and pen-skill, but human qualities, not measurable in terms of marks—measurable only by judgment. It is the schools that should examine, and those who manage them. The right of selection should be given to the selected school.

Education : Selective, Specific, Compensatory.—Our three theories thus coalesce as but three partial truths. It is true that there must be selection of the best, so that the best may be at the head, and of the rest each must be trained to fill a place in the State suitable to his powers.

It is true that in educating we are serving the future to establish there some better than our best; we must not therefore, teach with our eyes fixed on the present to serve only its needs, the products of our own present attainments; we must serve the future complementing our present defects.

Lastly, it is true that we cannot all be best. Each must learn the duties of his place, according to his quality, else the result is chaos.

Internationalism.—Can we do anything to bring near the day when that selection is not local for the improvement of our one petty compartment of mankind, but for the improvement of mankind as a whole?

The secret rests, I think, in what we have already discussed under the head of compensation. So long as we dwell upon our glories, past or present, making ourselves self-conscious of our virtues, and unconscious of our defects, we shall make little progress.

The ideal man is neither English nor French nor German nor Indian nor Japanese. He is an Englishman, who, possessing what he has unconsciously, sets himself to acquire what the Frenchmen possess unconsciously. He is the Frenchman who, possessing what he has unconsciously, sets himself to acquire from the Englishman, till both absorb into their unconscious selves the complements of their defects, and approximate from different directions to the same final product. Education is not for brooding but for action. There is no need to teach a French boy to be French. He is, anyhow. It is the other things he needs teaching, the things he is not. The French part can be trusted to grow of itself, and it will be the better for not being fingered and dragged to daylight, studied, gloated over, flaunted in others' faces. It is good enough, but it is not complete.

It is this gloating over what we are, instead of seeking to be what we are not, that makes religion, and education, and character-training into mere gardeners of prejudice. Boys are taught to magnify their national virtues and others' defects by senile retrospective pedants, whose only joy left is to day-dream of the past, and in their dreaming to magnify their petty virtues by the contrast of another's weakness.

The vice is individual and national. Self-contemplation is just as big a fault in nations as in individuals, and a thousand times more dangerous.

Let us educate for the future, and the things lying at our feet will be out of focus of our eyes. Let us educate for development, and there will be no time for retrospection, but always that sense of general stress and change which keeps the brain and body alert.

Let us educate for a Selective Empire.

PART II.

EXAMPLE.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

WE have studied in the previous chapters those general tendencies of education which mould an educational system into a certain form, quite irrespective of the intentions of the organizers of that education. Let us now apply these theories to the present situation in Bengal. Let it be Bengal, simply because the writer knows education in Bengal better than he knows education elsewhere. But do not let it be thought that the foregoing principles are in any way less applicable to any educational system which the reader may choose to select. If he will take the trouble to read a few reports on education in French Cochín China, or the Board of Education reports on Education in Trinidad and the Falkland Islands, or if he will take up Brereton, or indeed almost any writer on education in England at the present day, he will find that precisely the same truths apply just as closely there as to the present situation in Bengal. Only in Bengal the situation is perhaps a little further developed.

The Motives of the Giver.—Any Government, and in particular a Colonial Government, has three possible motives in developing an educational system:—

1. *Social Stability.*—The first is social stability. At the time of the social unrest which followed the Indus-

trial Revolution in England,¹ political opinion in regard to education was divided into two camps. The one maintained that the small educational concessions which had already been given were the cause of the unsettled state of men's minds; they urged, therefore, that popular education if pressed forward at all, should be pressed very cautiously. The others urged that such unrest arose not from the giving of knowledge, but from the giving of half-knowledge, and not to all people; that lack of reason causes unreasonable unrest; whereas if unrest is based upon knowledge there is no ground for complaint. Education should, therefore, be pressed forward all the more vigorously.

At the time of the Commune in France, at the time of the Mutiny in India, precisely the same argument took place. The Despatch of 1859 is in part a reply to the accusation that the Mutiny was caused by the diffusion of education.²

The aim of a benevolent Government is that the people should acquiesce in the benefits conferred. They cannot acquiesce unless they understand. A totally uneducated India will not agree to the abolition of "Sati". The introduction of the much-needed measure will be an actual danger to the administration. "Although," says the Despatch of 1854, "British influence has already in many remarkable instances been applied to uproot demoralizing practices and even crimes of deeper dye, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind which the advance of education alone can secure."

That is exactly the point.

2. *Recruitment of Government Service.*—Every Govern-

¹ Monroe, "History of Education," Brief Course, chaps. x. and xiii. Marriott, "England since Waterloo," chap. xxi.

² "Rules and Orders of the Education Department, Bengal," p. 26,

ment is faced with the problem of obtaining competent officers for carrying out its policy. This problem is particularly acute in a colony or dependency where the people of the land are of a different language and race from that of the governors. It was essentially necessary for the British Government in India to obtain a new stock of officers to replace the Moghul officials, and to develop in them a far higher standard of efficiency than had existed before. Moreover, as English was the language of the rulers, and was soon to become the language of Government, it was necessary that any official of high standing should be well acquainted with that tongue. The Despatch of 1854 states that Government has always looked upon education as of importance because it is calculated to produce intellectual and moral improvement, "and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust in India where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State".

3. *Material Development*.—Most, if not all, Colonies start as purely material speculations. This was the case with Canada and Australia. It was no less so with India; and it is only of comparatively recent years that this aspect has ceased to be a very dominant one. "Now," continues the Despatch of 1854, "are England's material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India. It will rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, and" (here the Despatch is strangely suggestive of Reinsch, were it not for the preceding sentence and the fact that it so obviously and with such transparent honesty makes the point a very minor one)

'secure to us a larger and more extensive supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures as well as an almost unexhaustive demand for the produce of British labour.'

This is a very reasonable programme:—

1. Social stability and acquiescence in reform.
2. Efficient Government servants.
3. Development of the productivity of the country; and last.
4. Development of its demand for imports.

Number 1 is a matter of specific education in civics; Number 2 is a matter of selective education; Number 3 is a matter of specific technical education in agriculture or industry, and Number 4 is largely a matter of compensatory education, and partly a by-product of 3.

We have then a happy mixture of three utterly opposed ideals of education, which, in practice, tend to be completely contradictory to each other. After looking for a while at Number 2 we cannot fail to prophesy correctly the inevitable result.

The Demand of the Receiver. The Demand of the Upper Classes.—When British power was established in India the indigenous social order was weak, but not destroyed. There was an upper caste of "governors," in many respects incompetent and corrupt, but a distinct social order possessing distinct characteristics and attainments. It was to the interest of that order to maintain its position, and to prevent any attempt by the lower orders at self-qualification for the functions of the higher caste. Their interest was therefore to encourage a "warped" selective education for the higher orders, such that, though the examination was nominally open, any outside competitor might be heavily handicapped. These upper classes had behind them a vast tradition of Oriental learning, and practically a monopoly of the means of imparting it.

Their interest was therefore to urge with might and main the claim of Oriental studies, and to oppose European learning, and, above all, the English language. There was current at the time an idea (referred to in Lord Macaulay's Minute) that the conceptions of European knowledge should be transmitted to the populace in the vernacular by the learned classes. It was an idea of almost pathetic simplicity. It was one which the learned classes were no doubt quite ready to accept. For so long as these ideas were transmitted in their own special tongue to which they alone possessed the key, the possibility of any dangerous diffusion of them was extremely remote. There was in those days no "Cholit" or popular Bengali style, and the upper grades of society would not be likely to introduce it. Even if this "filtration" had been possible, their hand would be on the tap of the filter.

The diffusion of European knowledge in the vernacular was one thing; the diffusion of the English language was quite another. If the son of a cultivator and the son of a doctor have both to start their education in chaste Bengali and Sanscrit, the doctor's son has obviously an enormous advantage. If they have to start in a tongue foreign to both, the chances are even. Indeed, as the range of selection in the case of the cultivators is enormous, the pure laws of chance make the ultimate outnumbering of the doctors almost a certainty. The introduction of English would give all a new chance, it would put the existing upper classes practically back at the starting line; it would open the gates to a total redistribution, an upheaval and reclassification of society. Now Macaulay makes no mention of this: it was an aspect which was never discussed; he is only exercised with the merits of English as compared with Sanscrit.

If the language of the aborigines of Australia had been selected in preference to English, the social effect would have been the same, or any language on the earth so long as it was unknown at the start to upper and lower classes alike.

The decision for which Macaulay was mainly responsible was momentous, how momentous they cannot have realized who still had hopes of the beneficent landlord of the Permanent Settlement, visioned scarcely forty years before.

With regard to the education of the masses the policy of the upper classes was clear. It was entirely to their interest that the cultivator should be taught to plough and the shoemaker to stitch. The "development of the wealth of the country," "teaching the lower classes how to enrich themselves," are admirable cries. Anything in the nature of specific education which assumes a man's present position as the starting-point and teaches him to stay where he is, obviously suits the ideas of those who also wish to stay where they are, especially if it can be argued from philanthropic motives.

The consequences of the introduction of the selective lottery were so little realized by those who framed the policy of 1854 that the general participation of the masses in the competition was not anticipated for a moment. They seemed to have been left out of the scheme. The above philanthropic ideas, of teaching them to stay where they are, were accepted as philanthropic. We may doubt if anyone, English or Indian, ever consciously thought of them as anything else. But men in framing politics do not think consciously. They start from unconscious assumptions. When we attribute other than the best of motives to the upper classes, it is not intended that they consciously thought out a

Machiavellian policy, but they started from unrealized postulates which logically resulted in such a scheme.

The Demand of the Masses.—The "demand of the masses" is, applied to the earlier stages of the development, an inaccurate phrase. There was no demand from the general working community. The demand was made by those just below the fortunate aristocracy, and from them it spread down through successive stratas of society, and is still spreading. The demand was simple: it was that they might have a chance of rising into a higher social grade. Those just below the aristocracy demanded an opportunity of rising into the aristocracy. No sooner had they obtained it than those next below, seeing the class above them obtaining promotion, demanded a similar privilege. Oriental studies were of little value to them. Their demand was for an English education where all would have an equal start. For technical education for themselves they cared nothing. Those who were to remain in their grade had no need of education. Education is for rising. For primary education they had equally little care. The fortunes of those below them interested them not at all. If anything their interest was to prevent the classes below from attempting to rise and stiffen the competition. Hence they were just as willing as the upper classes to agree in the policy of a specific education which would teach them to be content with their lot. Their fundamental point of difference from the upper class demand was on the point of English. English removed their handicap.

Let us see how these conflicting tendencies worked out in practice.

*The Development of Vernacular Education in Bengal.*¹

¹ By far the best history of vernacular Education in Bengal is H. A. Stark's series of articles in "The Calcutta Review," Jan. 1916, *et seq.*

—There had been much education before the Despatch of 1854, but no definite policy.

The establishment of the Calcutta, Madrasah and Sanscrit College in 1782 and 1791 was distinctly a part of the "Orientalist" policy. The object of these two institutions was to provide Government servants possessing knowledge of Oriental Law and Science, and naturally recruited from the upper classes.

In 1813 the Court of Directors sanctioned one lakh for "the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the Sciences in India".

The problem immediately arose as to what Sciences were to be "introduced"—European or Indian. The dilemma of educational policy was therefore presented at a very early date. The problem was referred to the Court of Directors. Still "Orientalist" in policy, they replied that Sanscrit studies were intended.

In the following years little was done by Government; it was too much occupied by foreign affairs. But much was achieved by missionary enterprise—May, Ellerton, David Hare. It was the missionaries indeed who at a

These articles have been reprinted in book form. I am much indebted to them in the following account. For criticism Chailley, "Administrative Problems of British India," is excellent; Johnson, "Our Educational Policy in India, 1880," is standard; Law, "Promotion of Learning by the Early European Settlers," deals mainly with missionary work, and is not a very thorough account; Strachey is very brief in "India, Its Administration and Progress"; Holderness, "Peoples and Problems of India," is up to date, but brief; Stevens' "India" is typical of first impressions. James' "Education and Statesmanship" is well known, though many will differ from his views. Mr. Stark's is by far the most thorough, careful, and scholarly account. "Rules and Orders of the Education Department" should be read. Also the West and East Bengal Curricula of Primary, Middle-Vernacular, Guru Training and Normal Schools. The "Quinquennial Reviews" are interestingly illustrative of changing ideals.

later date were to force the hand of Government. Had an Orientalist policy been decided upon, the popular demand would have been met by the missionaries. Indeed they developed the popular demand, and made any decision other than that arrived at, an impossibility.

In 1823 Government made a move by establishing the General Committee of Education, with Local Committees as administrative bodies. In 1831 they report that a "taste for English has been widely disseminated" by the Hindu College in Calcutta. That taste for English very soon became a matter less of congratulation than of debate.

Two parties were soon formed in the General Committee—an Orientalist and an Anglicist; their fierce discussions were not settled until 1835 by Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck. As a result of this decision Zilla schools were founded. The idea was that they should act as normal schools: the pupils after attaining European knowledge through the medium of English, should go forth to disseminate it in vernacular.

In the same year Adams was appointed to inquire into the state of vernacular education. He reported recommending a system of inspection and rewards for the existing schools, also district Anglo-Vernacular schools reached by scholarships from the Vernacular schools. These Anglo-Vernacular schools were to serve as normal schools. With regard to the condition of vernacular education he concluded that vernacular education was declining; further, that it was in no sense an institution serving the productive masses, but that the primary schools were for the most part occupied by the middle class—the zemindars' agents, the petty tradesmen, and such-like.

His recommendations were rejected. Government at

that time was concentrated upon English education, it held that existing funds were not sufficient to make any real impression on so vast an undertaking as the vernacular education of the populace. Macaulay's view was "Our English schools are nurseries for the schoolmasters of the next generation," so he felt that in devoting sole attention to English education he was serving, if not the present, at least the future of Vernacular schools. It was for this reason that English and vernacular were made parallel in the Anglo-Vernacular school course. But he might have taken a warning from the attitude of the pupils to this arrangement, for the vernacular was consistently neglected in favour of English in spite of every effort to encourage it.

The separation of the North-West Provinces from Bengal in 1842 gave an opportunity of trial to Mr. Adams' scheme. It was introduced by Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor.

In 1844 Lord Hardinge, in pursuance of the Anglicist policy, opened the higher and lower services "to persons who had received suitable education"; that is, appointment was to be no longer by pure nomination from a limited class, but on the basis of educational qualification of anyone who might possess it.

Mr. Thomason, an Orientalist in policy, disapproved. He said it "would make every clever boy believe himself an especial protégé of Government, and rely for his future more on the favour of others than on his own exertions".

In the same year the Hardinge Vernacular schools were started. In 1848 the report states that "In the observation of local officers and from experiments the fate of Vernacular schools must be regarded as sealed". Several local officers reported that the demand for English was universal and so intense that the boys thrust their Ver-

vernacular books into the hands of the teachers and insisted on being taught English.

Such was the condition when Dr. Mouat reported on the success of Mr. Adams' scheme in the North-West Provinces, and almost simultaneously the 1854 Despatch arrived. "The main object of the Despatch," says the Parliamentary Blue Book of 1870, "was to divert the efforts of Government from the education of the higher classes, and turn them to the wider diffusion of education amongst all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses."

It had the effect of giving the Government courage to adopt a far more comprehensive scheme than had ever been dreamed of before. Directors of Public Instruction were appointed, also an inspecting staff. Four normal schools were established. And the popular aversion to vernacular education remained just as strong as before. The report, 1852-5, notes the demand for English education which has arisen in every district, that those who through their unwillingness to make any local contribution, however small, towards the Hardinge schools pay and pay willingly for English education, and found private institutions to impart it. "It must, however, be confessed that that hope of lucrative employment rather than any desire for education itself mainly induces parents to pay for their children's instruction. In Vernacular schools no such powerful motive exists."

The Demand for English.—This is the truth of the whole matter. Had the writers of that report considered the matter for a moment, they might have asked themselves what was the motive from which their own parents sent them to school. Was it not because, without education, no "lucrative employment" would be open to them?

It was to the advantage of the State and to, the advantage of Bengal as a whole that the masses should receive vernacular education. But the advantage of the community is not necessarily the advantage of any single member of that community. The general benefit extends over many generations, but the whole price must be paid now. The benefit may not arise until many generations later, but the price must be paid now. A specific education is not to anyone's immediate and obvious advantage, even if it be free, and how many will pay for it

The demand was for English education, which held out vague prospects of social promotion. No doubt the boy might fail to realize them. But parents like to hope. Had the advantage of the State been judiciously admixed with an individual bribe it would have been granted willingly. Had English been allowed in the Patsalas the people would have crowded into it, as they would do to-day. What harm would have resulted? The competition for Government employment would have been made more acute. Government would have been the gainer, for the more acute the competition the better the final selection. Nor would there have been more social unrest than there was under the mixed policy. Under the mixed policy those educated in the English as opposed to the Vernacular schools were given a definite hope, and that hope unmaterialized became disappointment and discontent. If some are invited the rejection have a right to complain: "You invited me and now you cast me aside". If the door is thrown open to all no one has a right to complain. The *déclassé* is a person who has a qualification which bears an inflated value because of its nominal rarity and actual superfluity. He has qualification which any man could have obtained had he been given the chance. It has a value only because

all have not had the chance. If English is open to all the mere fact of its acquirement is of no inherent value. The *déclassé* no longer exists, for he can no longer consider himself lifted out of his class by a qualification common to all classes. Yet English education will still be sought for because it is the avenue to great things for those who do more than barely qualify.

The absence of prospect in the Vernacular schools was partially realized by Government, and 320 scholarships were established, some to be held in Normal and some in Zilla schools.

The Circle school system was established. Presents were given to teachers for success in the central examinations of their boys.

All this attention to vernacular education, and expenditure of money upon it, had its effect. Vernacular education was of some use, and it was better than nothing. Between 1855 and 1863 the number of pupils in Vernacular schools increased from 1141 to 20,821, a very large result. The pupils in English schools were, however, almost equal in number (21,381). The official papers still say that the old preference for English is as strong as ever. "Whenever an aided school increases sufficiently in prosperity the first step of the Managers is to have it converted into an Anglo-Vernacular institution."

The Starting of Education "From the Top".—The doctrine of the Anglo-Vernacular school as the top of a filter was a hopeless misconception of the facts. Education does not filter downwards; it crowds upwards. The Government of Bengal started education at the top. Critics have never ceased to blame this policy. They attribute the error to this false doctrine of filtration. The Government had no alternative but to start education at the top, and every education which has ever been

started has been started at the top, for the motive force of education is the top.

To start education at the bottom is to start a race without a winning-post, to start a lottery without a prize. The error lay in starting a race, disqualifying half of the would-be competitors, and hoping that they would still enter. There is one motive, and one motive only, that matters in education so far as the recipient is concerned, and that is "lucrative". A parent may half-heartedly have his son taught a few useful accomplishments, but he will not strive, he will not sacrifice himself for a general training in general intelligence which offers no remotest possibility of a definite and immediate material reward. He is a gambler. He will accept the smallest, vaguest, faintest, remotest chance of a prize, but he will not enter for a competition which, definitely and decisively according to the policy of the Government, leads to no prize, leads to nothing at all.

Lord Mayo says in a private letter: "I dislike this filtration policy. We are educating a hundred babus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than Government employments. In the meantime we have done nothing for extending knowledge to the million."

They had done much, but the million would not accept it. They too were able to pay, and willing, both time and money. But they were unwilling to pay even time for no prospect. It is not merely Government service; there are the professions; there is the social status. And if all competed the failure would have no gain.

Payment by Results.—In 1871 the distinction between Lower and Upper Primary schools was made. District Committees of Public Instruction were established, and

payment by results was introduced. This gave a great impetus to the primary teachers. Schools multiplied so rapidly that the "Guru inspector," or part teacher, part inspecting officer, was introduced to assist the Department. Funds gave out under the stress, and the system of payment by results had to be abandoned.

This was unfortunate. Primary education had never received so great a stimulus. It has received no such stimulus since. The stimulus was to the teachers, but it reacted on the parents. The teachers infected the parents with some enthusiasm: moreover, they gave good work in return for the parents' contributions. The system was abolished for purely financial reasons. It succeeded so much that there was not the money to go round. There was little objection to the system at the time as a system. It was urged that subjects not included in the departmental tests tended to be neglected; mental arithmetic was not as good as it had been. This was not an objection against the system but against the application of it. There is no reason why mental arithmetic should not be included.

It has been argued elsewhere that payment by results prevents good teaching; that it introduces cramming. As for good teaching it prevents that which never existed, and is never likely to exist. Teaching so ideally good as to be injured by the prospect of an examination does actually exist in English Primary schools, here and there. There are teachers with enthusiasm for their subjects. The subjects reach such a stage that enthusiasm is possible. On such enthusiasm a "results" examination might cast a blight. There are teachers who possess originality. Originality and a hide-bound departmental examination do not agree. This may be true in England. But in India the Primary

school is a most elementary institution. It professes only to teach the three Rs; nothing more is asked of it, and of nothing more is it or will it ever be capable. Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetiç do not inspire enthusiasm or originality. There is nothing for payment by results to blight. As for cramming, this is a term of pedagogic scurrility; it is applied to all methods of teaching which we do not like, and which appear to be undeservedly effective. Cramming used in its proper sense means the memorizing of words instead of ideas, and the memorizing of ideas without proper understanding of them. By learning off the propositions of Euclid by heart and a certain number of "likely" problems, we might pass an examination in the subject without possessing any real knowledge or understanding. This is cramming. But the acquirement of the power to read involves no question of ideas; it is a simple act of skill; and writing is a simple act of skill; elementary arithmetic is a simple act of skill, and whether a boy learns them by cramming or by any other process appears to me to make not twopenny worth of difference so long as he can read and write and add. If he can read, he can read, and there is no more to be said.

The Present System.—It is now over twenty years since payment by results was abolished. There is not an Indian inspecting officer in the Province who does not regret its departure. The case was referred again and again to the local officers; the European officers in some cases made the above arguments: the Indians were unanimously in favour of the old scheme.

A Pundit, not very young, never very energetic, filled full of malaria, ill-fed on a bulky nitrogenous diet¹ and a

¹ Scientific Memoirs (Publ. Govt. of Bengal), No. 34, "Standards of the Constituents of the Urine and Blood, and the Bearing of the Metabolism of Bengalls on the Problems of Nutrition".

victim of chronic dyspepsia, is working in an out-of-the-way village, where the sub-inspector turns up once or twice a year. The climate is damp, hot, oppressive. The school-house is ill-ventilated, and its atmosphere more lethargic even than that of the steamy rice-fields which surround it. There are five separate sections to teach, all consisting of children as dull and sleepy-eyed as the teacher himself.

The writer has taught in a Primary school himself for a short period. The heat, the stuffy atmosphere, the unpunctuality, the hopelessness of class teaching, where boys of every possible grade of society, of brain, of previous attainment, join the school at all times of the year and all times of the day ; all these are things which the European visitor or inspecting officer does not realize. The lack of any social organization in the school makes the work doubly uninteresting. The boys' parents are a marvel and a mystery. They come and call their boys out of school to do menial tasks at home. Perhaps they return later—perhaps not. One parent had fixed great iron fetters on his son's legs for some fault. He clanked into school. One boy came dressed every day in shabby velvet and sat picking the tops off sores. He never learned anything else. If we might only teach for a little while in a High school also, how much we should learn and understand !

• The teacher's pay is at a fixed rate. It is calculated according to the quality of the house, by the furniture, the roll number of the school, the average attendance (the average attendance is merely a matter of pencil marks ; it is not possible to check it), on the qualification of the teacher, and last, one-fifth of the total, the quality of the work. The quality of the work is tested by a weary sub-inspector, who has trudged some four or five miles through the heat. He hears a boy read, and

another class meanwhile does a sum which he has written on a slate or much pitted black-board. The boys stumble occasionally in the reading. The sum is done wrong by the head boy of the class: all the rest copy him, and so they are all wrong. The sub-inspector writes:—

Reading—fair.

Arithmetic—bad.

He has no standard test to compare school with school. His test is perfunctory. He would never dare to reduce the grant of the school on such an examination.

He writes his note:—

“To-day I visited Kothaona Lower Primary School. There is one teacher named Kehu Na. Qualification, Middle Vernacular, plucked. There are thirty children on the roll.

		Present to-day.	Fees.
Standard IV	1	1	4 annas
„ III	3	2	3 „
„ II	2	1	3 „
Infant, 2nd year	6	4	2 „
„ 1st year	18	12	2 „
	<u>30</u>	<u>20</u>	

Income: Fees Rs. 6	Expenditure: Teacher Rs. 7
District Board	Contingency 12 annas
Grant . . Rs. 2	Garden 4 „ —Rs. 1
<u>Rs. 8</u>	<u>Rs. 8</u>

“The school building is of thatch. It is in bad repair. The furniture is defective. There is no map of the Province. Wall charts of animals are also required.”

Then he goes away, perhaps after dining with the Pundit, or the nominal secretary of the school, or the

head man of the village, whose only educational function is this biennial dinner.

Look back through the pages of the thumbled and tattered inspection book. • For years back the same note has been written. Every year—

Reading—moderate.

Arithmetic—bad.

Every year the same statement of the same income and expenditure, both of which are purely fictitious, as fictitious as the fee rate, and as fictitious as that astonishing item—4 annas for a garden, of which no vestige is seen, unless a healthy crop of jute, which obstructs the windows of the school-house, and will in time bring in to the Pundit a sum much greater than the 4 annas wherewith he is supposed to educate his charges in the principles of agriculture. The sub-inspector knows it is fictitious. If a true monthly balance sheet were made out, it would be somewhat as follows :—

Fees	Rs. 3
Crops	4
District Board grant	2
Cocoanuts, jack-fruit, bringal, bananas, etc.	/4a.
	Rs. <u>9/4</u>

The Pundit owns a little land, which he has cultivated for him by labourers. He takes the money-fees to pay the rent. • The boys pay fees when they can, and as much as they can, quite irrespective of the fee rate, or the class in which they are reading. The bringals and jack-fruits come from those whose acquaintance with money is confined to the payment of rent—like the Pundit. There is no fixed rate of so many jack-fruits per class; they too pay what they can and what the Pundit will be satisfied

with. If he is not satisfied he will "take it out" of the boy.

"House, bamboo thatch," is also a yearly entry. It makes no difference to anybody. If the house is the Pundit's own, he will patch it and patch it till it can be patched no more, or till a hurricane blows it down, or an enemy sets it on fire. When that happens, it is the end of the school. There will be an interregnum, and some one will start another school; or the Pundit may rebuild the old one. Such things are not done until necessity compels.

As to furniture, the District Board is the only being who provides furniture. Sometimes a bench, and sometimes a clock arrives, sometimes a curious picture of an elephant or a rhinoceros or a cow, quite unlike any cow that was ever seen in India, a thing of vast size, and no hump. For all this the Pundit is grateful. But he would never think of providing such luxuries on his own account; and as for the cow and the rhinoceros, he does not understand the precise use of them. He hangs them up because it pleases the sub-inspector. The sub-inspector's remarks about furniture are no concern of the Pundit's. If furniture is "defective" it is the fault of the District Board, and why his grant should be assessed according to the District Board's generosity in the matter of furniture he has never troubled to inquire. Indeed, it would not be much use.

In fact, the only function served by the sub-inspector's visit is that he assures himself of the actual existence of the school. There are cases known of a grant being reduced for inefficiency, but it is nearly always "inefficiency" of attendance, not of knowledge. There was never a case known of a grant being increased for the efficiency of the teaching of a small number of boys.

The Pundit's advantage is to have as large a number of boys as possible inscribed on the roll, but attending irregularly, a much larger number than his shed can accommodate, and five or six times more than he can possibly teach.

Payment by results encouraged the small effective school. It encouraged the "bogus" school also. That could be dealt with. It was more the sudden increase of the number of schools beyond the powers of the inspectorate that caused this evil, than any defect inherent in the system. For it is just as easy to start a bogus school under grant-in-aid as under payment by results; indeed, easier, since no real test is made of knowledge, and any infantile human organisms will do to fill the benches.

Payment by results laid stress on actual teaching. The function of the inspecting agency was to discover whether the Pundit was doing his work. This is no longer the case. Inspecting officers seem to be interested in nothing but buildings. It is very easy to criticize buildings, but criticism does not produce money or bricks. They are interested in furniture, in attendance, and occasionally in registers. But with regard to the real function of the school, teaching, and its real product, education, they manifest the smallest enthusiasm. Indeed, I think that many inspection notes would apply equally forcibly to a summer-house or a hotel.

Vernacular education is slack because it is unappreciated. It is unappreciated because it is slack. The years of "payment by results" were its one period of success; and without payment by results it will continue to languish.

The Commission of 1882. — In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed a Commission to inquire into the condition of

education. Before he left for India his attention was drawn to the disproportion between the amount spent on Primary and on Secondary education.

The Commission of 1882 laid down that Primary education was intended to qualify the "recipients" for their position in life and not necessarily be regarded as a portion of instruction leading to the University". The Government of India endorsed this view. "The curricula of Primary education ought to aim principally at imparting instruction calculated to be of real practical benefit to the work of those children whose education will terminate with the Primary course."

The Commission was in favour of payment by results, of training of teachers, in situ inspections and tests, control by the local administrative bodies.

The Present Situation.—The present system of Primary education is practically a result of the Commission of 1882. Payment by results has gone, but the rest has been faithfully fulfilled. Primary education is largely administered by the District Boards; inspections are carried out in situ; Guru Training Schools have been started to increase the pedagogic skill and knowledge of the teachers. Large grants were given at the Royal Durbar, one most especially useful, namely, that to trained teachers.

But there is not one moment's doubt in the mind of anyone who has to do with the work, that in spite of encouragement, in spite of money, the whole system is languishing, and the same words which have been used as far back as the days of Macaulay might be used now. Mr. Adams' report is as accurate an account now as it was in the year in which it was written: "From all I could learn in this district Elementary education is on the decline, and has for some time past been decaying," and

A demand for English education has arisen in every district, and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling fees are willingly paid and increasing numbers of teachers supported in private schools".

Every Primary school, as soon as it reaches a reasonable size, turns itself into a Middle English school. Every Primary school, whenever it gets the chance, teaches English in spite of Government regulations. Non-departmental Primary schools teaching English are springing up every year. They ask fees double and quadruple those which the Vernacular Pundits fail to collect ; and they get them, and their classrooms are full.

If a census of opinion were taken of the whole Indian inspecting staff of the Province, there would not be one who would vote against English in the Primary school. Nor would there be one, if the census were taken of the whole people of Bengal. It is no good blinding our eyes to the fact any longer that until English is included in the vernacular course, vernacular education will continue to diminish and decrease. Our refusal is simply allowing the matter to pass out of our hands. If Government will not give English in the Primary course, English Primary schools will simply grow up of their own accord, for what is a two-rupee grant against double and quadruple fee rates ?

Until English is included, and the Primary, Middle, and High school system linked in one continuous chain, Primary education will be without prospect. It will attract no interest, no self-sacrifice. When that is done private individuals will come forward to build schools and to act as supervisors ; the fee rates will jump up to three and four times their present scale ; the salaries will increase correspondingly. And the ryot who asks for nothing but the three Rs will be shut out ?

The reply is that there is no such person, or very few. Every parent wants to have an ambition for his son, even if he knows it to be incapable of fulfilment. Every parent wants his son classified in a general scale with all other boys. Even the parent who knows that his son cannot go far wants a smattering of English. The shop-keeper wants to read the labels on the packages, the cultivator wants to know what he is buying and what he is signing, the gharriwallah wants to understand where his European passenger wants to drive to.

As for over-crowding the curriculum, it is over-crowded already, with a number of things not half as useful. Textbook agriculture, legal documents, even accounts, are not half so useful to a boy as a little smattering of English in a land where every other printed word is English, where everything important is done and said in English, where every one who is anyone speaks English. We take a big responsibility in resisting an honest demand—a demand repeated yearly, unanimously, now for one full century.

Clearly then we have before us two alternatives, one or other of which must be adopted if Primary education is to be made a living reality. Either we must by compulsion enforce the wishes of the giver, or we must satisfy the desires of the receiver. In the former case education must definitely be made compulsory, and the cost of it raised, not by voluntary contributions, but by taxes. If it be made compulsory, it may just as well be made at the same time as fully specific as the giver desires.

Is compulsion possible? Can Government meet the cost of a purely State system?

On the other hand, the wishes of the receiver may be fulfilled. It is possible that in the end these wishes are representative of what is best for all in the long run. A

people seldom consistently and over a long period demands a bad thing. In thus giving way to individual profit we may combine with it a just quantum of general social benefit. This is the easiest course, the most popular course, the happiest course. If we adopt it, what will be our proposals?

Proposals According to the " Selective Policy ".—We shall still propose the three Rs in vernacular as the basis. But in addition to this there will be certain optional subjects. A teacher should be tested by a departmental test of his knowledge and teaching ability in these particular subjects. Grants should be given at so much per head of boys who pass the standard of their year in the three Rs, with an extra grant if the teaching and results (judged by an examination of work done, and also by an in situ general class test) are satisfactory in the optional subjects.

The extra subjects should be first, of course, *English*, for which an extra fee may be charged. The rest will be :—

Geography,
Manual work,
Singing, games, and gymnastics,
History.

We shall lay down a minimum attendance to qualify for any grant, and a maximum grant for any one school. Deductions may be made from the grant if the locality is not considered to have done its duty in supplying the school with furniture and equipment, or a building, according to its ability. The deductions would be applied to those purposes.

We shall insist that the classes and curricula run in continuous sequence from Primary to Secondary, and that there be one curriculum only with slight differences

in the detailed studies of the optional subjects for urban Primary schools.

The Middle Vernacular course should be abolished. All Guru training schools should be open to the Middle English pass men, and should include English in its curriculum. The Normal schools should be open to matriculates (or school leaving certificates), and should include some English in the curriculum.

This is a complete capitulation to Selective education save that we still leave room for the most improbable person who may require the three Rs in the vernacular and has no desire at all for English. More probable is the person who cannot afford even the small extra fee.

We can make this capitulation only if we are assured that there is a strict Primary Final Examination to prevent the clogging of the machinery above by a mass of useless products, and that in the rest of the scheme there will be some protective check against the selective canker, something to prevent indiscriminate educational gambling, lowering of standard, and manufacture of *déclassés*. There must be some risk, something to lose, and chance of degradation as well as of promotion. This check obviously will not occur in the Primary stage, for a failure in the Primary grades does not become *déclassé*. The recruits for this undesirable class are found in the failures only of Secondary education. In considering the present condition and future prospects of Secondary education therefore, we must endeavour to devise some such deterrent, and at the same time to introduce somewhere in our educational system effective encouragement towards Specific education of those who are best suited for that type of vocation.

CHAPTER VI.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

THE history of Secondary education in Bengal has not been eventful. There are events in vernacular education because it did not flourish of its own accord, and Government was always taking fresh steps to encourage it. In Secondary education it was different. Ever since the foundation of the Hindu College, the Mission Anglo-Vernacular¹ schools, the Government Zilla (originally Anglo-Vernacular schools), the development has been steady, spontaneous, progressively rapid.

• The annals¹ of single division illustrate this fact. In Diagram I it will be seen that the increase has been steady and continuous. The rise in Curve I (scholars) followed by no proportionate rise in II (schools) shows that a slight improvement in University and departmental control has caused slightly larger and better instead of numerous small and ineffective schools.

• In Diagram II we see that Middle English schools have increased rapidly in number. The dip in Curve III (scholars) indicates their recent decline in popularity. No boy will enter a Middle school if there is an available High school. Hence the increase in the number and size of High schools is likely to empty the Middle schools in their vicinity. Elsewhere the tendency is for every popular Middle school to raise itself to High school status on the earliest possible occasion.

¹ The diagrams (pp. 170, 171) are from Basu's Report on "Education in the Dacca Division."

The Organization. Degree of Control over High Schools.

—The bulk of the High schools are under the management of local committees. They are private concerns, in that they are the result of local enterprise; they are controlled by public bodies only so far as they must

ENGLISH EDUCATION (DACCA DIVISION).

SCHOLARS
IN H.E. SCHOOLS.

45,000.

40,000.

SCHOOLS	
35,000	140

30,000. 120

25,000. 100

20,000. 80

15,000. 60

10,000. 40

5,000. 20

SCHOOLS.
(HIGH ENGLISH)

31ST MARCH 1895. '99 1900 '01 1902 '05 1904 '05 1906 '07 1908 '09 1910 '11 1912 '13 1914 '15 1916 A. D.

Diagram I.—HIGH ENGLISH SCHOOLS.

satisfy the University in order to obtain affiliation. The bulk of the mafussil schools receive monthly grants-in-aid from Government, and are subjected to Government supervision. Capital grants are also given towards new buildings, furniture, hostels. This also subjects the school to some Government control. Over the unaided school

Government has no control save through the fact that the inspections for the University are done for the most part by the Government Inspectors. The University is, however, able to send down its own Inspector, if it pleases. Over the unaided and unrecognized school there is

ENGLISH EDUCATION (DACCA DIVISION).

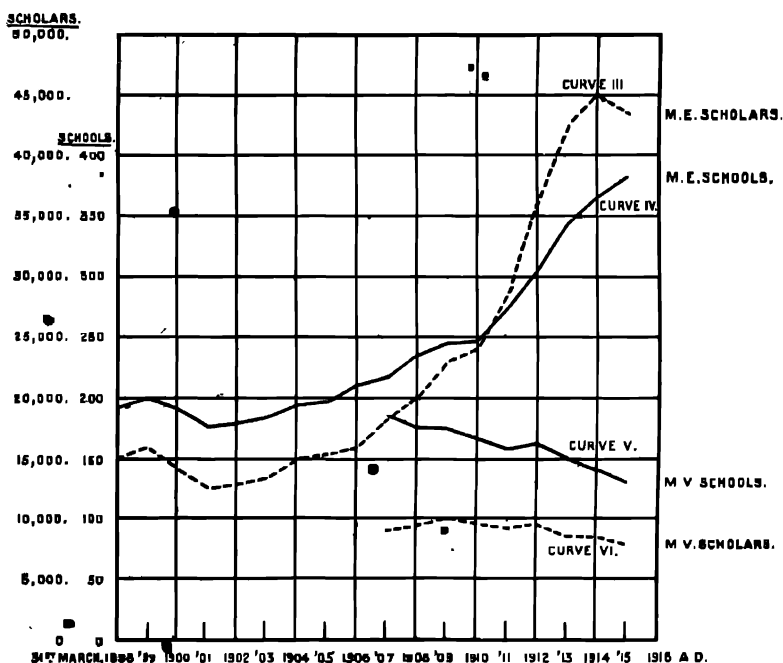


Diagram 2.—MIDDLE ENGLISH, MIDDLE VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

practically no control. It can be reached only through the Transfer rules. Recognized and aided schools are compelled to send the Transfer certificates of any boys who wish to pass from unrecognized to recognized schools to the Inspector for counter-signature. In the case of an extremely refractory unaided and unrecognized

school the Inspector might refuse to counter-sign after giving due warning. This would mean that the boys of the school would be shut off from the Matriculation, unless before the expiry of the warning they went to another school. This device has very seldom been used.

The bulk of the mafussil High schools if not actually in receipt of Government aid would be willing to accept it; for it is very rarely that an efficient mafussil High school is self-supporting. On the other hand, those in large towns, and particularly in Calcutta, are in many cases unwilling to accept Government aid even if it were offered.

The reason of this difference is purely financial. The mafussil High school is more expensive to run, for though, as a rule, there is no rent to pay, this is equalized by the fact that buildings have to be erected, and this is largely done out of the profits of the school supplemented by a few local subscriptions. The staff, on the other hand, costs much more. Teachers require some compensation for living in the mafussil. Often there are no decent houses for them. Indeed the provision of teachers' quarters is, in the opinion of the writer, one of the best investments which a school can make, or which Government can make on behalf of a school, especially if the quarters be married-quarters. It lessens the cost of staff, and it induces teachers to stick to their posts. The most important difference between the Calcutta and the mafussil school lies in the fact that practically every teacher in Calcutta has some other employment. A very large number are law students. They teach during the day, and attend law lectures after or before school hours. The others undertake private tuition. In Calcutta this is very remunerative. Most mafussil teachers also undertake private tuition, but the rates are lower and there is less of it.

The Calcutta school therefore costs less to run. On the other hand, the fee rates are higher. The ordinary passusil rate runs up to Rs. 2.8 in the top class. In Calcutta the average is Rs. 3, and the fees for lower classes are proportionately higher.

There is a certain size in every institution which begins to be remunerative owing to wide distribution of inevitable expenses, which are the same whether for the small or for the large establishment, e.g. servants, office, library. These cost little more in a school of 600 boys than in one of 200. Hence the school of 600 boys has a margin of profit, and the school of 200 boys has none. A High school in Bengal is self-supporting if it has 500 boys. The Calcutta High schools have from 600 to 1500 or 2000. Hence they make a fairly large profit. A very large number, if not the bulk of them, are proprietary institutions. The founder retains himself as head master, or as superintendent at a very ample salary. Proprietorship is not permitted by the University, but this rule is evaded in various ways. One way is to fix the proprietor's salary as superintendent far beyond the maximum profits of the school, so the school pays him what it can. Another method is to call the payment of profits "refund of advance". Most schools when they start are run at a loss. The loss is sometimes genuine. More often the teachers, though written down as receiving certain salaries, actually merely divide the takings of the month, and receive merely "whatever is going". This nominal loss, however, is by a fiction supposed to be met by the proprietor. When the school begins to pay, he takes the very real profit. There is no account of the extent of the loss, so the proprietor goes on taking profits *ad libitum*; or he may not even call the profits refund, but interest on advances. In one such case Rs. 2500 had

been paid in three years as interest on Rs. 6000. The proprietary school will not accept aid because Government would certainly not recognize such proprietorship. As a result the majority of Calcutta High schools, and a number of High schools in the larger towns are unaided.

It is clear, therefore, that the control exercised by Government over the High schools is very limited in scope; it is confined to grants-in-aid. As the schools are increasing at a rate far greater than the maximum possible increase of Government funds available for this purpose, the influence of Government over the High school is under present conditions likely to become less.

The ultimate and real control over a school rests with the manager of the final test up to which it leads. Thus the authority of Government over Middle schools should be absolute, in that it conducts the Middle examination. The Middle examination is not, however, essential for entry into a High school; it only determines scholarships. Hence a school which aims only at being preparatory to the High school could, if it chose, be uncontrolled by any authority whatsoever.

University Control.—The High schools all lead up to the Matriculation examination. This is conducted by the University. Nominally an examination is an absolute and complete test of a boy's ability. Actually it takes no count of physique or of character. A boy might come from a school which had stunted his physique and ruined his character, and yet be certified by the University as having been efficiently educated. This is not only possible but probable, for if there be no control at all, beyond the mere examination, the schools will devote attention literally to nothing else. They will sacrifice physique, health, and character to the one ideal. A preliminary negative selection, such as was de-

scribed in the first chapter of this book, therefore becomes necessary. The selection is of schools, not of boys. A school must be "affiliated" before it is permitted to send up boys for the Matriculation examination. The conditions which must be fulfilled for affiliation are laid down in the University regulations.

The weakness of this system is manifold. The conditions of affiliation are generally acknowledged to be far too lax.

Conditions of Recognition.—The Managing Committee of the school must be properly constituted. But in actual fact there are numberless schools now recognized in which the Committee is simply nominated by the proprietor and votes absolutely according to his wishes.

The staff must be sufficiently qualified and paid, but the standard of qualification laid down (two B.A., two F.A., one English-knowing Pundit) is so low that even the worst schools cannot fail to improve on it. The law, therefore, is ineffective. Nor yet does the law cover the number of teachers. A school requires one teacher for every class, plus an extra for every six teachers (so as to give each teacher one free period per day), plus one extra to set the head master free for half the day for supervision, and to set another teacher free for half a day for clerical work, plus one extra for every two optional subjects which divide a class into two sections. There is no rule on this point.

Building.—The school buildings must be "suitable" and "sanitary". They must be "satisfactorily lit and ventilated". These terms are so vague that the standard varies enormously, and has to be based largely on present conditions instead of aiming at drastic improvement.

There must be 8 square feet of floor space for 80 per cent of the roll. This rule was made when 80 per cent

was above the ordinary standard of attendance. The standard nowadays is considerably higher. Hence the result is that there is barely 8 square feet per boy, and in town schools considerably less. The standard in England is 10 square feet. It should be higher in India because the climate makes any suggestion of crowding extremely insanitary. In low, damp rooms, with deep verandas, no through draught, doors instead of windows, dirty clothing and perspiring bodies, 15 square feet per boy would not be too high a standard.

The 8 square feet rule being definite is observed. But the rule is insufficient.

With regard to furniture the rule is not definite. Furniture "should be sufficient". Personally I do not consider furniture sufficient unless there is enough for 90 per cent of the roll number, nor yet do I consider it sufficient to provide only benches without backs, and no desks in the lower classes. The result is that the boys adopt very bad positions in writing or even in ordinary sitting. Nor yet is the absence of ink-pots "sufficient"; nor yet the absence of a shelf below the desk, so that the narrow tops of such few desks as there are are crowded with books leaving no space for writing. But refusal of recommendation on these grounds is made difficult by the fact that the standard varies so widely both according to the locality and according to the individual officer.

There is nothing in the regulations as to the nature or shape of the classroom, hence one has to admit a veranda as satisfying the rules. Nor yet is there any minimum size laid down, hence a room 3 feet square would be recognized as sufficient to accommodate a teacher and one boy, although there would not be standing room for both.

Regarding the library the rule again is vague. There

should obviously be at the very least twice as many readable books as there are boys in the school. Three or four times as many would be nearer the proper figure. In addition to this there should be a library for teachers.

There is at present no really up-to-date list of books suitable for boys. The libraries of schools are made up of second-hand books which might, for their miscellaneous titles, have been bought by weight, and a number of presentation copies of very inferior texts. These latter are called the "Teachers' Library". As an instance of the sort of books found in school libraries, I may mention such examples as :—

"Gunshot Wounds, Their Treatment." Illustrated.

"Physiological Chart of the Female Body."

"Oriental Crime."

"History of the Idea of the Devil and Witchcraft in all Countries." Profusely illustrated.

"What and When to Drink" (a volume of recipes).

Staff.—The University requires to be informed whether provision is made for discipline inside and outside of school. Obviously with the standard of staff outlined provision cannot possibly be made for discipline. How can one get discipline out of a staff of which only two are graduates? Moreover, the pay laid down for the staff is as follows: Head Master, Rs. 50; Second, Rs. 40; the rest of the English teachers, Rs. 25; Head Pundit and Head Maulvi, Rs. 25. For Rs. 25 one can get a moderate Matriculate, a fair failed Matriculate, a very fair Normal school Pundit, a good Guru training school Pundit, a moderate Sanscrit title-holder or Maulvi; a good title-holder costs Rs. 30 to 35; the best, Rs. 40 to 50. A really good Matriculate costs Rs. 30 to 35. A good F.A. costs Rs. 40. A fair failed B.A.

costs Rs. 50.¹ So the staff of the school will be at best—

a failed B.A.

an F.A.

and the rest failed Matriculates and Normal or Guru training school men who teach only elementary subjects in the vernacular, also a moderate Sanscrit Pundit or Maulvi.

A good Head Master costs Rs. 125; a really good one costs Rs. 125, with a house and prospects; the best cost Rs. 200 to 250. A good B.A. costs Rs. 60 at the lowest figure. Rs. 75 will get a trained B.A. of moderate quality. Rs. 100 is needed to get a man of real disciplinary power, decent physique, some self-respect, and perhaps some ability.

As a matter of fact the custom is to buy the highest degree which can be got for the money. B.A.'s can be got for Rs. 25 (in which case they certainly have some other employment; probably they are studying law). A whole-time B.A. can be got for Rs. 40, and he will be the weakest of his kind, a disappointed man, without energy or physique, willing to let things go as they please—if a boy wants to learn, let him, and if he wants to misbehave, let him.

As for a man who will look after the "outside discipline" of the school, where is he obtainable? After school the teachers go and give private tuition, and get Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per month for it. The better the teacher the more he gets. Hence work after school hours is not easily obtained from the teachers. Moreover, a

¹ The pay of a personal servant is, minimum, Rs. 15; a good servant costs Rs. 25; very good, Rs. 30. There are usually on the staff of a school four to six teachers at salaries from Rs. 20 to Rs. 15, some go as low as Rs. 8, the wage of a sweeper.

man who has energy left after an hour's tuition in the early morning and six hours' work in a stuffy classroom is a man of some physique, some nervous force, and a man who is well fed. Indian hotels (for Indians) charge Rs. 1 to 2 per diem for food—two large meals and a light tiffin. A servant on Rs. 25 spends Rs. 4 to 5 on his food. A chaprassi on Rs. 8 spends about Rs. 2 (a little less) per month. Good European food costs Rs. 150 (the best) to Rs. 75 (moderate), or Rs. 60 (inferior). A good diet for an Indian, consisting of meat, fish, vegetables, in good quantities, costs about Rs. 20 to 25 per month. A man ordinarily spends one-fourth to one-fifth of his pay on food. Hence a decently nourished teacher costs Rs. 60 to 75, leaving a family out of calculation. This calculation sounds strange to those who do not realize the fact that nine-tenths of the inefficiency of the work of Indians is due to a diet which would put any European straight into hospital. The University is demanding good discipline on a scale of salaries which is not sufficient even to feed a teacher of decent physique.

And physique is the basis of discipline.

As a matter of fact, this scale of salaries is always exceeded even by the worst schools. The average head master in a small Western Bengal school gets Rs. 60 at the lowest. The average salary for a head master is Rs. 90 to 100. But in the lower part of the staff the salaries fall off to scales far below the University minimum. The vernacular teachers get at most Rs. 25, and most ordinarily Rs. 15., or 12 or 10. Rs. 8 is about the lowest ever found.

These are the "paper" salaries, but there is a very common practice of not paying the actual salary stated. Every school of under 300 boys, if staffed up to the

ordinary standard, is running at a loss, and unless there is clear proof that the loss is being met by some wealthy patron, it is certain that it is being met by under-paying the teachers. This takes place in the following way: The teachers, even in a good school, live from hand to mouth, and have no place to keep their money in, so they draw their salaries in dribbles of two or three rupees at a time as they need it, leaving often large arrears unpaid. There is an acquittance roll which has to be kept up to date. Hence all sign up to date whether they are paid up to date or not, *even in the honest school*. The honest school pays up the balance at intervals, e.g. before the Puja holidays. This procedure is encouraged by the fact that Government grants are not drawn regularly by the school. They save them up, and draw several together. Also there is occasionally delay in passing the bills. Hence innocent falsification of the acquittance roll is very general. Dishonest falsification is extremely easy. The teachers do not complain because they would promptly be dismissed. Detection by the inspecting officer is almost impossible, for no public account is kept of these intermittent payments. Even if by a rare stroke of luck one gets hold of the private account, as the months are not divided up, in any set of thirty days one finds some of the teachers over-paid, some under-paid, and some hardly paid anything at all. One has to go back twelve months and take an average.

Fees.—The fee rates must not be competitive. This, as a regulation, is satisfactory, but it is unfortunate that practically none of the fee rates, save in a very few first-class schools, are sufficient to pay a competent staff.

The ordinary rate ranges from Rs. 2.8 to 1; average Rs. 1.8 to 1.12. To pay a decent staff one needs a school of at least 400 boys, and a fee rate averaging

Rs. 3 or a shade above. An average of Rs. 4 would staff a school fairly well.

It is difficult to insist on a rise of fees, for this would merely result in the lower fees of the surrounding schools becoming competitive, and there would be a loss of boys equivalent to any increase of funds. The result of the regulation is therefore merely to keep the fee rate down, whereas what is needed is something to push it up; e.g. that all schools classified as first-class should have an average fee receipt of Rs. 4 per boy per month, second-class Rs. 3, and third-class (provisionally recognized only) Rs. 2.

In addition to this there is a habit of granting concession rates. There is a rule that free studentship shall not exceed 6 per cent of the roll. But some schools grant concession rates of anything from 5 to 40 per cent of the fee rate to 40 or 50 per cent of the roll. This is, of course, not shown in the statement, and only a careful auditing of the accounts reveals it.

Tuition.—The arrangements for tuition must be satisfactory. Here again the regulations are self-contradictory. How can the arrangements be satisfactory with such a staff, and how can there be any better staff at such fee rates?

Moreover, the University lays down that there shall not be more than the following numbers of boys in the classes :—

I—II	(top)	50
III—VI	"	40
VII—VIII	"	30

How many English teachers are competent to deal with a class of 50 boys studying the Cambridge Senior, or, to be fair (as the Matriculation is not nearly as dif-

ficult as the Cambridge Senior), the Cambridge Junior? The ordinary Indian teacher is not the equivalent of an English trained teacher. He has never seen decent class teaching in his life. Nor have the boys any idea of it. The class is usually arranged in the form of a square, and the teacher sits in the middle. The cleverest boys sit nearer the teacher. The teacher sits and gives one long continuous lecture to the class, of which the boys as a rule take no notes, nor indeed do many of them listen. If he goes to the black-board he stands with his back to the class, and explains things to the black-board. If he is questioning the boys or hearing work he walks round the inside of the square. He stands opposite one boy, and for anything up to ten minutes he will hear that one boy read, and address all the questions to that one boy with his back to the rest of the class. When that one boy is finished with, he goes on to the boy next to him.

There is no idea of class teaching. It is a system of individual tuition applied successively to forty or fifty boys. It follows that, even if the teacher distributed his favours evenly, each boy would do only one minute's work in a period. As a fact, the teacher confines his attention almost entirely to some five or ten boys, and gives very occasional recognition to some ten others. The rest never get taught at all. Class tests reveal this. If arithmetic test-cards be given to a class of boys, the result comes out something like this:—

A class of 40. Out of ten sums—
 5 boys got 10 right
 7 " " 4 right
 8 " " 3-2 right
 20 " " 2-0 right

Half of the class simply does not exist. As a sample,

I may mention a class in which the ten boys nearest the teacher had done some six or eight sums each, and the rest had not even opened their exercise books—this just as the bell rang for the end of the period.

The real truth is that such work as is done is not done in school. Nearly every boy in the school has a private tutor. Those who have not are hopeless "back-benchers" who simply do not count. Early in the morning and in the evening after school these tutors go through the boy's lessons in English and mathematics, possibly also Sanscrit. They give individual tuition in just the same way as they give it in the school. The English teachers of the school have private pupils. Many English-knowing employees of local businesses and offices have private pupils. Elder brothers sometimes act as tutors. All the real work in the real subjects is done at home. At school the boy merely strolls through the day. The "real subjects" mean English and mathematics. These two subjects are set apart in the annual tests. If a boy passes in these all is considered well, for failures seldom occur in any other subjects in the Matriculation. There is an extremely drastic system of "moderation," and it appears to be recognized that if a boy satisfies in English and mathematics, he will not, except for extreme badness, be plucked in any other subject. Whether this idea is wholly justified or not, I am unable to say. It is certainly fairly generally believed.

Written work at home is done in ink. At school it is not. The exercises are written in pencil in rough bunches of country-made paper—sometimes white, sometimes brown. There are few desks, so as a rule the exercise is written on the boy's knee. Desks are very rare in the lower classes, so boys get into the habit

of writing on their knees. One sees boys writing on their knees even when there is room on the desk. All subjects are mixed together in the one book. The appearance of the written work may be imagined. The arithmetic suffers from gross carelessness; figures are mistaken, the purpose of the sum is forgotten, and a totally irrelevant answer is given. The average result, on Harrap's Test-Cards for English Elementary Scholarship given to Class I (Matriculation class) in Bengal, is 30 to 35 per cent correct. The best result obtained was at a mission school—57 per cent. Class II gets about 30 per cent on Standard VII papers. In English the faults are similar. Spelling is extremely bad. Careless spelling is particularly prevalent—e.g. the omission of a syllable by accident. There are no paragraphs, no full stops. The pieces run on like an illiterate person's letter—constructions begin, become dazed, and vanish. Minor accuracies, e.g. inverted commas, capital letters, question marks, are noticeably absent. I have made the experiment of sending for ink, distributing large sheets of good paper, and removing those boys for whom there was no desk accommodation. The improvement, not merely in caligraphy, but in general accuracy of spelling and construction, was enormous.

Written work causes general discomfort under such conditions. It is therefore very rarely set in class, except in mathematics, where the work is almost always written. When written work is set, it is very rarely corrected. If it is corrected, it is not corrected properly; a few errors are marked, and the piece is initialled. The reason of this is manifold. In the first place the classes are so large that a single exercise is done not as in England by twenty, but by thirty, forty, or fifty boys. Second, the teachers are busy with private tuition in

their spare time. Third, there are no marks for daily lessons, or for daily exercises. In most schools there are weekly, or—occasionally—monthly examinations. The boys do not appear to do any special preparation for these examinations. In some schools the totals are not added up. In the better schools the totals are reported to the parents; but they do not count towards the boy's promotion. The real test is the half-annual and the annual examination. The teacher has quite enough corrections with these examinations, and is not inclined to do any more in class work.

Mathematics in all classes, and all written work in the lower classes, is corrected during school hours. The boys do a sum. The teacher then collects all the books. He corrects the sum (while the boys sit doing nothing); when all the books have been corrected he returns them, sets another sum, and watches the boys do it. This is the general practice.

The periodic examination system is extremely bad. But it seems almost impossible to alter it, so strong is its hold. The climate conduces to slackness in class; the private tuition system still further encourages it. Daily marks would entirely do away with this. All boys are very keen on marks, and Bengali boys more than most. The introduction of marks puts energy into the classrooms at once; it forces the teacher to adopt a class instead of individual system of teaching; it stirs up the "back-benchers," who are the greatest tragedy of education in Bengal (especially of Mohammedan education). It compels the teacher to use more questioning and do less lecturing. It compels him to correct any written work which he sets, otherwise the class is up in arms at once. The teachers resist the innovation for these very reasons. It makes them work. Although nominally it is no more trouble than the

weekly test, actually it is all the difference between honest and dishonest teaching. The teachers fear marks for another reason. The electrifying effect on the class is surprising. The boys want to take part in the lesson. They answer out of turn, or they squabble over place-taking. As a result discipline becomes difficult. The teachers are not used to their classes being alive. They do not like it.

In the better schools some plan of studies is marked out by the head master. It is of the simplest kind:—

English Reader	Page X to page Y
Basu's Arithmetic	„ A „ B,

and covers only the main subjects. The class teachers keep no notes of lessons, nor outlines nor diaries of work. The rate of progress is extraordinarily slow. In the middle classes of the school about quarter of a page of the reader is done per diem on the average.¹ All the prescribed readers are of very modest size. As a Latin reader they would occupy an English class of the same grade for a couple of terms at most; as a French reader for one term, or less. The time is wasted in the following ways: Firstly, the book is revised over and over again, till the boys know it almost by heart, although they do not fully understand it. Secondly, the teaching is of the most ineffective kind. The boys have come to learn English. If they learn the reader by heart there is no great harm done; learning passages by heart is a very good way of acquiring a language. But the method of teaching consists in translating the English into Bengali. All the questioning is English to Bengali, and the

¹ On the first reading. Counting in revisions it would be much less. In several cases I have found two months taken over 300 words on the first reading, i.e. 5 words per diem.

boys scarcely speak any English except for the occasional reading throughout the whole lesson. The teacher talks English, but the boys do not. If only we could introduce a general habit of teaching by oral retranslation of Bengali into English, the standard of English in the schools would go up by 50 per cent. Instead of this very simple reform, we have messed about with the Direct method and all its vagaries—all very well for Gouin and Berlitz, but perfectly useless for the unimaginative and unenthusiastic teacher of Bengal. Vernacular versions of English books, and the encouragement of retranslation to English, would have done ten times as much at far less trouble. Time is wasted in the questioning, for it consists (apart from translation to Bengali) either of oral spelling or of grammar. Psychologists are much distrusted by "men in the street," but this brief psychology will, I think, be admitted, viz. that spelling is purely a memory of the hand, or (as the psychologist would say) a "motor memory". Ask a man how to spell any rather unusual word: he will want a pencil, or, failing one, he will make the movements of writing before answering. • The oral learning of spelling is a wasteful and useless process. Literally months, taking a total, of the Bengali schoolboy's life is spent on this unprofitable exercise.

The rest of the questions are grammatical—"Parse the word 'given'"; analyse "He came into the room". It is unnecessary to state the well-known fact that the English language is entirely destitute of grammar. It is a purely idiomatic language, and such few rules as there are can be learned in a week by any intelligent person. All the rest is exceptions. As for this abstract grammar of parsing and analysis, whatever its value as a "training of the mind" may be, it may be admitted without hesita-

tion that for the purpose of learning to speak and to write correct English its value is absolutely nil. It is, moreover, common to all languages. Parsing and analysis are just as well learned in Bengali as in English. Since Bengali is an inflected language whereas English is not, it is far better learned in Bengali. Why then so much time is expended over this most unprofitable of all studies is beyond explanation. There is one reason only—that the Matriculation examination asks for it. Its result is merely a waste of hours of valuable time which might otherwise have been spent in learning to read and write English.

The other subjects, other than English and mathematics, are very largely neglected. Geography is taught in the lower classes, but it consists largely in map pointing—on a map which has all the place names marked. Map drawing is very rare. Geography may be taken as a special subject for the Matriculation if certain apparatus is bought. The apparatus is bought, but as the examination is purely written, it is easier to learn to write about the experiments than to do them, so except for the maps, the apparatus is not generally used. The same applies to mechanics. The University list of geographical apparatus is defective in many respects; for example, the plane table is not compulsory; the list of books is not up to date; the textbook usually followed is not one of the best.

Drawing is taught in most schools, but it is all done from the flat. Sometimes pictures are copied from drawing-books, sometimes from the black-board. Models are unknown. To put an umbrella, a hat, an earthen pot to be drawn is a thing I have not yet seen. The drawing is done with blunt pencils in the country-paper khatas. Sometimes blue or green pencil or copying

pencil is used. The drawing, like the writing, is done on the knee. India-rubber is not used, but sometimes a wet finger is employed for this purpose. The main utility of drawing is for keeping a class employed in the absence of a teacher.

Teachers are very frequently absent. Although they have some three months' vacation and numerous holidays, plus Sundays, in the year, they enjoy also ten days "casual leave" on full pay, medical leave on half-pay, and also frequent leave on no pay. The whole staff of an ordinary school takes as a rule some ten to fifteen days' leave per month. In bad cases as much as thirty days is taken. This is due partly to the prevalence of malaria and dyspepsia, partly to marriage and funeral ceremonies, and very largely to the custom of the country. Certainly more latitude has to be allowed in the matter in India than would be thought of for a moment in England. But the teachers in Government schools are treated too liberally, and other schools follow and increase the bad example. As a result some schools are continuously short-handed, and all suffer from perpetual interruption of work.

Drill is supposed to be taught in all schools. Except where there is a trained teacher, it is practically nominal. It is certainly stated in the time-table, but how the time is spent I have never been able to discover. Certainly the boys appear to know nothing, save left and right turn, and the teachers appear very ill at ease when called upon to teach the subject to which they are supposed to have devoted two periods per week. As drill has to be done in the heat of the day it cannot be a very popular subject. If it is done in a veranda it disturbs other classes; if it is done outside it is decidedly unpleasant for the boys, unless there is a convenient tree.

paid salaries which will not secure men of any physique or athletic powers; salaries not sufficient to provide such food as would make hard exercise a possibility, and salaries which have to be supplemented by private tuition, which takes place at the time when games should be played? *

The same problem also touches the boys. Of any mafussil High school roughly one-third of the boys come from outside a two-mile radius. Some boys on rising (they rise very early, practically at dawn) take a light meal. The practice of taking tea and biscuits is spreading amongst the wealthy. The main meal is taken ordinarily about ten o'clock. Most boys get nothing until they return home at five o'clock. • There are sweetmeat sellers in the vicinity of the school. For the English readers—if there be any—I explain that the English equivalent of an Indian sweetmeat is not an acid drop but a bun. Boys who find great difficulty in affording an average of Rs. 1.8 per month (or 2 annas per day) school fees, are not likely to spend 2 annas per day in sweetmeats. Even 2 annas does not provide a very substantial "collation". It is to be remembered that in 80 per cent of cases the meal at ten o'clock was a vegetarian meal—rice, dal, vegetables. If there was fish or meat, it was in minute portions merely as a flavouring. I would ask my European readers merely for one day to try the experiment. Eat a vegetable curry at ten, nothing else till four, work or even sit during the intervening period in a stuffy building at a temperature of 80°, and then play football. It is not pleasant for a day for one who has many years' reserve of good, sound, animal proteid. Try it for several months, or for a lifetime. Add an ancestry of vegetarianism and malaria in the blood, and that game of football becomes a still less attractive pro-

spect: "What is to be done? If they do not exercise they are weak, and if they do exercise they are shattered."¹ The truth is that the school hours are wrong. They ought to be 6-10 a.m. and 3-5 p.m., with games from 5-6. This is quite impossible, although these were the office hours of the old "qua hai". The alternative is well-ventilated buildings, plenty of space, punkhas, and food for every boy at one o'clock. This means an addition of at least 30 annas, or Rs. 1.14 to the school fees—practically double.

Poverty lies at the bottom of it all. If the standard had been kept up from the first, so that only those who could afford it could go in for the selective education, all would be well. But that is not the way of selective education. It spreads, and every one spreads it and calls it the "Light". Anyone who does not spread it is called "obstructionist," "unpatriotic," "selfish". It spreads beyond the possibilities of Government assistance, beyond the classes who can assist education themselves, beyond those who even can assist their own selves, down into depths where the boys come half-breakfastless, and the parents cannot afford a bun a day, so that their boys may play football.

Is it "patriotism," "striving for the Light," "The Quest of Knowledge," "Love of Truth," etc.? Or is it social rivalry and personal ambition?

• Nothing altruistic would make these sacrifices, not if we were angels.

And they are made for an education destitute of physical training, actually physically harmful, destitute of discipline, destitute of culture, and not even a training in hand-work. It is no fault of anybody. It is no fault

¹ See Kanta Prasad, "Health and Mortality of Educated Indians," chap. ix., also p. 126.

peculiar to India, though in India the disease is worse. It is simply the selective canker, growing in a favourable soil.

Social Life.—In some schools there is a Boys' Debating Club. The head master, as a rule, presides. The subjects discussed are moral topics—"Honesty," "Truth," etc. School magazines are very rare, and are distinctly stiff and pedantic when found. Common rooms are practically unknown. Indoor games are unknown. There are attempts at a monitorial system, but they do not flourish for there are no organized athletics on which to base it.

In fact, the school has practically no existence outside its class work, and the boy has no life outside his school work. He goes home, eats, works, sleeps; rises, eats, works, goes to school to work. He reads practically nothing outside his school-books. Books in the vernacular for children are being published nowadays, but books for grown boys are still extremely uncommon. School libraries at any rate patronize neither, and English story-books are almost equally rare. The reading of novels is looked upon as waste of time. Athletics are favoured only because a *corpus sanum* is necessary for a *mens sana*. If a medicine could take the place of athletics for producing the same effect it would be welcomed. Indoor games are positively disapproved of. An attempt of mine to introduce Karrom, a harmless game consisting in the flipping of draughtsmen on a wooden board elicited a petition drawing attention to the danger of boys neglecting their studies. A proposal to start a common room was criticized by the head master (of a Government school) as doubtful of success, as the boys would not use it. He asked, should he compel them to

attend? The idea of compulsory Draughts and Halma was rather discouraging.

As a matter of fact there is one Boys' Common Room started by the liberality of His Excellency Lord Carmichael. It is a well-furnished room, so as to set a model of a decent standard of living. It is in charge of the boys, so as to teach cleanness and responsibility for decent surroundings. It has good pictures, story-books for boys, and a number of indoor games. It is greatly appreciated. Compulsion has not been necessary! Nor yet have I heard that studies have suffered. It cost with the books, games, furniture, and everything under Rs. 500.¹

But it is the only one.

The schools are remarkable for their total absence of social life; the homes are not one whit better. It is this total absence of genuine sociability which puzzles the European most in his contact with the Bengali. The Bengali gentleman rises early, breakfasts, reads his newspaper, does a little work perhaps, goes to office, works, goes home, works, feeds, sleeps. The greatest diversion of the ordinary day is to take an aimless stroll, to read the newspaper, to smoke, perhaps to argue with a friend. There are no cards, no draughts, no chess, no billiards, no outdoor games.² A little music is the utmost relaxation. Most noticeable of all is the absence of what we may call friendly entertainment. There is no "dropping in for dinner". Indeed eating together is not possible. There is very little "dropping in" at all. The great occasion for meeting friends is at the walk at sunset along the river bank, or at the open "maidan" of the

¹ It is at Chittagong Collegiate School.

² I do not speak, of course, of the Anglicized members of the wealthier classes in towns, but of the ordinary maffussil gentleman of moderate means.

place. But visiting at each other's houses, all that informal sociability which makes country life in England so attractive, is totally wanting in the native life of Bengal. Instead of it we have the "Tamasha". Instead of asking his friends in groups to friendly dinners week by week, he asks them altogether in one vast crowd to a formal entertainment celebrating either some religious festival; or perhaps a family event, a marriage, birth, or such-like. For the one Christmas of Christianity, Hinduism has a dozen such. For the one Christian "tamasha" of marriage (already of much diminished splendour) Hinduism has a dozen such. There is a tamasha at birth, and a tamasha a week afterwards, a tamasha when the child first eats rice, and a tamasha when he first begins his ABC, a tamasha for betrothal, a tamasha for marriage, a tamasha for conception, a tamasha for "churaching," a tamasha for death and burial.

A tamasha is as unsociable as an English garden party. There are far too many people there for anyone to meet anyone else intimately; least of all has the host time or thought for friendly intercourse. He is as busy as an innkeeper. There is far too much going on for conversation or thought: there is music to be listened to, or at any rate heard, for one cannot help hearing it, dances to be watched, food to be eaten, ceremonies to be performed. This multiplicity of tamashas takes the money and the time and the place of a social system, of the quiet dinner party, the friendly tennis gathering, the musical evening of a few friends.

Possibly it is a part of human development. Most peoples start with tamashes and end with sociability. There was in Old England a tamasha for Easter, a tamasha for Shrove Tuesday and for New Year's Day, and another for Twelfth Night. Christening was once

a tamasha, and burial used to be and is still in country places a ceremony accompanied with "ham". All these ceremonies have lost much of their pristine splendour. A general all-the-year-round sociability has taken the place of sudden bursts of geniality. We need nowadays less excuses for hospitality; there is less fuss about it when it takes place, because we are more accustomed to it.

This is not the case in Bengal. If the Culture Epoch or Phylogenetic theory holds good of sociability, then Bengal is still in the Tamasha stage, which was vanishing from English middle class life in the days of Dickens.

The standard of living probably also affects the psychology of the question. A man who dines decently every day does not make much of an event of having a few friends in to dine with him. Nor yet, because of his fairly affluent circumstances, is it a rare and noticeable event with him. To a man who lives simply and scarcely, the entertainment of some friends is an event of some rarity, and an excuse for an unusual outburst. In Bengal the general standard of living is low. The poor are poor, and the rich have large families, which soon comes to much the same thing.¹ Even the actually affluent live ordinarily very simply, largely perhaps from tradition.

The system encourages itself. Tamashas are expensive. The man who has recently held one will do little else of that kind for a very long time. Like a drunkard deprived of drink, when again he is able to celebrate the occasion, he celebrates it with a tamasha.

¹ On this very important point see Malthus' Essay on "Population," Book I, chap. xi. Also Bentley's Report on "Malaria in Bengal". Overpopulation encouraged by Hinduism (see Wilkins, "Modern Hinduism") is the underlying cause of all. See also Wattal, "The Population Problem in India".

Had he given no tamasha, he might have entertained friends in a simple homely manner for two or three years on the money thus saved. He might have—save for the fact that there is no tradition of "simple homely" entertainment in Bengal. There are baitākhanaṣ, with gilt tables, Christmas decorations of paper and tinsel, lustres, and the rest. There are no parlours.

There is complaint of the extravagance of expenditure upon weddings in Bengal, and a party has been formed to discourage this. If a Bengali's expenditure on weddings were divided by the number of years in his life the sum would not be excessive in proportion to his income. An Englishman spends just as much, possibly more, on entertainment, and often makes his daughter the excuse for it. The only difference is that the Englishman spends it gradually: the Bengali spends it all at once. The fault lies not in the expenditure; for what is money save to be gay and make others gay with it, and enjoy our few score years together? The fault lies in the fact that the Bengali gets so little for it—one feverish worried Circus - Lord - Mayor's - show - Civic - banquet evening—against the Englishman's happy sociable years.

There is no social life in the schools, because there is no social life outside them. Tamashas there are outside, and the Bengali school also has more than its share of tamashas compared with the English institution. It has at least three (Saraswati, Empire Day, Prize-giving) against an English school's ordinary one.

The effects of this deficiency are not far to seek. It is the unsociable boy who gets foolish wild ideas, for he has nothing else to fill his mind. A healthy lad dreams of his friends, his games, and his amusements. The unsociable fellow dreams vain dreams, wild dreams, discontented dreams: he feels out of things, unhappy or rather

"not happy," and he does not know why; he wants to change things; and he wants to occupy his insufficiently occupied days in altering this unsatisfactory world to suit his unsatisfied self.

There is also a saying about the sons of the clergy. There is some truth in it, if for "clergy" we substitute "un-interesting men," and a dull home, in which there is never entertainment, never new faces, never anything specially energetic or amusing to do, a negative discipline of "don't's" from a negative work-addicted father—these produce wild oats.¹ A boy has growing energies, and unless those growing energies find growing opportunities, not opportunities merely but actual incitements to action, they are diverted from their proper channels. If a normal adolescent boy does not lead a normal adolescent boy's life of physical and sociable activity, he leads an abnormal life. To put it baldly, he leads an immoral life in one way or another way—usually in one way.

Ninety per cent at least of Bengali adolescent school-boys are not leading normal lives. The diet of which I have already spoken probably mitigates the evil. If we allow on the liberal side 20 per cent for that, there remains 70 per cent² open to that insidious vice which is the invariable concomitant of stunted development.

This evil produces other evils in its train. Its physical effects are very disastrous.³ Its mental effects no less so. Its temporary effects are dullness, loss of self-confidence,

¹ Read Butler, "The Way of all Flesh," also Waldstein, "Aristodemocracy," Part III, chap. i. *et seq.*

² See Kanta Prasad, "Health and Mortality of Educated Indians," chaps. iii., xvii., and p. 163. With regard to the hereditary effects on morality of a bad social system resulting in purely sexual selection of women, see Charlotte Perkins Gilman's excellent work, "Woman and Economics".

³ See Vincent Swabe on the "Internal Secretion and the Ductless Glands".

a general lowering of mental vitality and initiative. Its ultimate effects are a disturbance of mental balance less by physical damage of the nervous system than by psychical damage of the mental organization. There is a concealed impulse which is, according to modern research,¹ the basic cause of nervous disorder. The boy's lowered vitality lays him open to its disorganizing effects.

With the schools rests the responsibility of social improvement. We cannot change the boys' homes. But we can change the boys whose homes they will be after a few years.

Surely half of the anarchic trouble of the present is due to the absence of social life, and the other half is due to the over-production in a selective system of professional qualifications, and above all to the failure to select the best.² If the schools over-produced but selected the best, they could reject, to be *déclassés*, the weakling and the fool. As it is they do not recognize the boy who has the elements of some manhood in him; in an unsocial system they divert that manhood into abuse, and turn out a dangerous wreck of good material to join the weakling and the fool. It is that wrecked manhood which is the chiefest danger, because a public uneducated in the subject fails to recognize that it is wrecked—a hopeless tangle of physical disaster and nerves.

We have now to consider the causes which have produced these effects, and finally to suggest some remedies.

¹ Freud, "The Psychology of Dreams". Hart, "Insanity". Both already quoted in chap. i., which passage please read in connection with this discussion. Forel, "Hygiene of the Nerves and Mind," chap. xi., "Hygiene of Childhood".

² Add, of course, that the sons are becoming wiser than their fathers. The illiterate ryot cannot control his English-educated son.

University Control.—We stated in the first chapter that the effect of a selective system is to thrust the control of education upwards. Institution C is preparing for Institution B, and B is preparing for A. Hence it naturally results that B calls the tune for C, and A calls the tune for B. Thus A becomes the controller of both B and C. The top of every educational system is the University. Its primary function is, or should be, the education of men in the advanced branches of certain subjects, some of a selective and some of a specific character. The professors of these subjects are men of high literary and scientific culture. The leading professors have as a rule little direct responsibility for the out-of-class discipline of the students. They and some of the heads of the colleges with certain outside persons professionally unconnected with education constitute the chief authority of the University.

There is no great harm in this. The professors know what the teaching of their subjects requires; the heads of the colleges may speak for the social and disciplinary needs of the organization. The outside members voice the needs of the intelligent section of the public. But there is harm when such a body sets up itself to control the whole educational system of the country.

School work is one thing, and college work is another thing. We have here a body of men set up to control the whole school system of the country, and among them not one single head master elected in virtue of his office; and I do not suppose 25 per cent of them, if as much, have ever taught for a single year in a school. This is not Calcutta only. It is (or was, till very recently, and is largely still) Oxford, Cambridge, and London, especially the last two. Considering the qualifications of these University bodies they really do surpris-

ingly well. If a collection of schoolmasters were called in to run the University, I doubt whether they would do so well. They would certainly make just the same sort of mistakes as the University makes in running the schools. They would show just the same lack of practical knowledge of the machinery, and of reasonable thought based not on fancies but on facts as to the aim.

The Influence of the University on the Schools.—Even were the University qualified to control the schools, it would be disqualified by its unconscious and unavoidable influences. The control of the University is based simply upon the fact that it owns the examination which closes the school course. The result is that that examination becomes the end and goal of all things. All those evils of the examination influence which we discussed in the first chapter exist in India.

"Other subjects," those which do not count in the examination, are neglected, e.g. Spoken English, Drawing, Science, General Knowledge, Geography (as a general subject).

The course is obsolete. Although ideas on school curricula in England and all over the world have changed enormously of late, although even the Primary curriculum has been twice revised, once in West and once in East Bengal, and a third revision is said to be contemplated, the Matriculation course has hardly changed at all. There have been changes of detail, but in its essentials the test is just the same. English of the eighteenth century is set for the boys to study, as if an English schoolboy were to learn modern French from Racine; the amount of reading set is very insufficient, the questions are grammatical and philological. There is still no test of power to speak English; the mathematics course gives no encouragement to practical teaching.

Even in Geography, the new subject, there is no practical test.

The influence of the examination on the schools is to cause neglect of the lower classes. Expensive crammers are engaged for Class I and II, and the rest of the staff is of miserable quality. School organization and social life are neglected because they are not examination subjects; the parents do not care about them; the head master, whose real function is that of crammer of the Matriculation class, and whose success is estimated solely by the number of boys he passes, neither knows nor worries about them. The examination influence makes the school one vast cramming institution. There is no real knowledge in it, no honest work, and least of all any honest happiness.

The negative selection of schools effected by the affiliation rules has no power to change this. If the rules were definite, so many benches, so many books, so much monthly expenditure on games and social life, it would be possible to compel compliance with the letter. But the schools would remain the same. They would do all that was required without interest or enthusiasm. There would be a veneer of reform such as would deceive anyone sufficiently ignorant of school work. But the schools would remain the same: their main interest would be the Matriculation—all else would be a show. The fact is that the main interest of their master (the University) is the Matriculation, and is always bound to remain so, for it is its *raison d'être* as a controller of school education.

Until the schools are placed under a control which exists in virtue of professional knowledge of school education, not in virtue of a mere examination, a body whose function is control and organization, not matriculation, so long will the schools not improve but stand still.

Effect of the Examination on Knowledge.—Those effects which were noted in chapter i. are not difficult to trace. University qualification instead of leading on to further study forms its close. The sale of textbooks in Bengal is enormous: the sale of general literature such as a man reads after taking the degree, is practically nil. The production of textbooks is enormous: the production of any other type of book microscopic. Education has expanded with enormous rapidity, but the expansion of literature has been by no means proportionate. In the days of Bankim Chandra there were two or three thousand entries for the Matriculation. If there were quarter of a great author for every thousand Matriculates, Bengal would be full of great writers.

The examination produces exclusiveness of knowledge. The B.A. says that Science is not his province, and the B.Sc. regards literature as forbidden ground. It is extraordinarily difficult to staff a school in Bengal for this very reason. There must be a teacher for every subject. If we wish to introduce geography, a special teacher must be got, mathematics must be in charge of a B.Sc. who will have nothing to do with advanced English teaching. The man whom the University has labelled considers it his duty to live up to his label, not by justifying his positive qualification but by making real the negative. A B.A. is a B.A. not because he knows Arts, but because he is ignorant of Science.

The examination produces narrowness of interest. The school which aims only at a certain number of passes, has no time for other occupations. To the obsession of the examination we must trace the lack of social life in the schools, and to the lack of social life in the schools the backwardness of the development of social life in Bengal.

It produces shallowness of knowledge. Who is there who knows anything well? The B.A. is supposed to know English. How many B.A.s can speak it with accuracy, or write it without eccentricity? The B.Sc. is supposed to know Science well. Yet I have dealt with B.Sc.s who could not wire a "seconds-marker" correctly, or start up a bichromate cell without consulting a text.

The few original books which find their way into the booksellers' catalogues show the same shallowness and incompleteness. I will not mention the names, although I have some recent samples at my elbow. The references are almost none, there is no index, there are numerous misprints, and numerous inaccuracies. There is a general atmosphere of haste and insufficient preparation. The chapter headings are large and interesting, but when one turns to the text, the discussion is meagre. Here is *The Relation of Higher Education in India with the Economic Problem* dismissed in twenty pages, and there are four references, the Census report, a newspaper and two books, one of which is the author's own. Such things will do for the examination hall. There is only twenty minutes' time for an answer, even if the question be one which might fill a library. There is need only of a sufficient show of references to impress the examiner, and in the absence of the books themselves the references cannot be very accurate or exhaustive. But we do not want to buy examination answers as books. That is what is being very largely supplied.

Effect of the Examination on Teaching.—Where an examination is the goal, the "outsiders" are neglected. It is a race, and those who cannot possibly win are of no interest. Hence the Front-bench system, assiduous coaching of a few boys, and neglect of the rest. Hence

the absence of teaching method, for method matters nothing where a written examination is the only test. Hence the neglect of the "outside" subjects, the neglect also of the elements in favour of the "likely topics," the absence of depth, for depth is not required.

Multiplication of Schools.—The graph already given indicates the rate of increase. There is no graph to represent the rate of improvement. If better schools were started they would fail, for no one would pay the fee of a decent education, while there was a school next door charging quarter the rate and achieving the same result, so far as the parent is concerned—the Matriculation. Every one wants a school at his door, and under the present system it is possible to start a school almost anywhere and make it pay if it is bad enough.

The motives of education are on a level with the education. They are—

1. Dislike of manual work.
2. Avoidance of the heat of sun.
3. Desire of social prestige.

The wealth of the ryot in East Bengal is increasing. It has been accompanied by no appreciable rise in the standard of living. He has no social system, no domestic amusements, no hobbies, no standard of quality in house or furniture or clothes.

The *nouveau riche* in England raises his standard of living, and launches out into hospitality, and later, when his position is assured, he finds it necessary to educate his son to the new circumstances. In Bengal the new circumstances are to be achieved by the son. In England the school only supplements the effect of the change in the home. In Bengal there is no change in the home. The school has to do everything. It has

to turn the son of a ryot living in a ryot's cottage at the same standard of squalor and dullness as the son who will till the field, into a gentleman. Even if the school could do this, what would be the effect? If in 200 days of term it could awaken his mind to activity, his body to athletic interests, his taste to a standard of personal and domestic decency, it must then send him for the other 165 days to a home without books, without hospitality, without social life, without a single reputable diversion, a home which is the social zero of comfort and decency, and a house whose

"walls are plaster and its floor of dung".

People cannot rise by education alone. Education is the subsequent effect which confirms a previous rise. It postulates something in the boy and the parents. In other words a decent school postulates a decent home, and if that postulate is not fulfilled the school is of no, or of a merely disquieting effect.

The spread of education has been due partly to the inherent force whereby selective education spreads itself, and partly to the mistaken motives which have helped it to spread itself. There is a prevalent idea that anyone who starts a school, even a proprietary institution paying 40 per cent, is a public benefactor; that the poor and the needy should be urged, wheedled, driven to educate their children; that "backward" areas should be bribed if they cannot pay, and in numerical returns which count Eton and Dotheboy's Hall each as "one" we read the story of the diffusion of "The Light".

An absolutely promiscuous professional education cannot be approved of by anybody. I doubt for example whether even the most enthusiastic would approve of a High School education for Reformatory boys, although I know of one League for this purpose.

Yet it is difficult to see what is going to put any limit on this system. Not the University, to whom the examination fees must perforce be a consideration. Nor the schools; they also have to pay their way; a boy not promoted is a boy lost; the boy therefore is promoted from year to year, led on with specious hopes, until in the Entrance test, which aims at keeping up the school's percentage of successes, it pays the school to turn him out—after he has been sucked dry. For six years the school has known that his chances of passing the test were practically nil, that he has not mastered the work of a single class he has been in. Yet the financial consideration mixed with a mistaken form of kindness has led the boy on from year to year to waste a tenth part of his life, and discontent himself for the rest of it. Nor yet will the general public apply the brake. In their own cases they have the selective ambition, in the case of others they have the philanthropic delusion. To suggest that a High School can do anything but good, that any limitation of "The Light" is to be thought of for a moment, is simply to lay oneself open to the most unpleasant accusations.

Devitalization of the Villages.—Let it be clearly understood, there is no question of keeping out the fit. The question is one of keeping out the unfit, those who cannot possibly benefit, who are bound to suffer harm, whose presence overloads the system and spoils the education of others, whose attraction into the selective system is merely devitalizing the essential productive employments without any corresponding benefit to the professional whose foundation is laid upon them. That foundation is being undermined: agriculture is being devitalized; attempts at improvement have failed simply because any one possessing the intelligence or initiative

to attempt improvement, has gone elsewhere—gone to the High School to improve his position, instead of staying at home to improve his work. In one-third of these cases that attempt is futile: agriculture loses, and no one else gains. Hence the depressing results of endeavours towards the improvement of agriculture.

The same applies to local self-government. The villages are being devitalized. All those who might have had the energy to make village government a success have gone.

The Problem.—Re-classification is needed. But we must degrade as well as promote. Let the doors be open as wide as possible so that no one of real ability may be kept out by poverty or lack of room. But let those who enter know that they are not entering for a sure and certain prize, but submitting themselves to a test which may set them higher or lower. We are giving what should be an expensive and good education to so many that the education cannot help being cheap and bad. We are educating in this system thousands who are not worth educating in it, and who know they are not worth it; they are simply gambling because they know that they may win, and they cannot lose. They will not enter if there is a chance of losing.

We are making the education cheap under a delusion that it is a benefit to be distributed as widely as possible, and that the recipients confer a favour on the State by accepting it. It is no favour. The education which is a favour to the State they have refused to accept even though it is practically free. Those who can pay must be made to pay. What they buy for themselves they should buy at the full price. There is only one thing in selective education which the State can profit by paying for, namely, a chance for the really clever and

healthy boy who would be otherwise excluded by his poverty.

Can we devise a system which will achieve this end?

In so doing we must make as our first postulate an intelligent and disinterested control.

PART III.

DEDUCTIONS.

CHAPTER VII.

DEDUCTIONS. *

WE saw in the first chapter that there are two determinants of educational systems. One is the will of the giver ; the other is the desire of the receiver. Perhaps this book, if any part of it has convinced the reader, may show the unsoundness of much of the educational discussion which has in the past, and which still to-day fills the public press and the library shelves. A writer observes certain evils in the social or political system ; they might be cured by better public instruction : he proposes some tinkering with the educational system. So great an authority as Sir Oliver Lodge in his admirable book, "The War and After," discusses what educational changes will be necessary to help the people in meeting the future responsibilities which the present is putting upon them. Can education instil a hatred and horror of war ? Can education assist in the evolution of a better mechanism of government than party politics ? Can education assist labour to co-operate in solving the problem of its relation to capital ? All these are matters of great import. It would be to the advantage of everybody that they should be solved. It is to the direct advantage of nobody that his children should receive the instruction which is to facilitate their solution. It would be a far more profitable study to inquire not what edu-

cation *should* be after the war, either, in Bengal or in England, but what education *will* be.

We have illustrated these two aspects of education in the Vernacular and the Secondary educational systems of Bengal. In the former we see the ideals of the giver: the ideals are lofty, reasonable, practical. The system aims at making the cultivator able to make the best of his conditions morally, æsthetically, financially. He is to be a willing citizen, a lover of nature, an intelligent agriculturist. The intentions are excellent. The only trouble is that they do not appeal in the least to the intended recipients. "Practical, moral, æsthetic cultivators"—but people do not want to be cultivators, whether moral and æsthetic or not.

In the Secondary system we see education as moulded by the receivers—an education aiming solely at the satisfaction of personal ambition. The State has endeavoured in vain to introduce some ideals into it. It is impervious to ideals. It does not want to be good; it wants to be profitable. Nothing will make it good save compulsion, and compulsion can be exercised only by direct control of the selfish aim which is its *raison d'être*.

We have seen that the ideals of the giver can be realized in education, but only by means of compulsion. Such compulsion postulates a social organization very different from that which exists at present—one very different from that which is at present the British ideal. The fault of such compulsion is that it wastes all that energy of parental hope and individual ambition which alone produces little of social value, but skilfully directed might serve as the motive force of a system. Every system must have a motive force. A system which embodies only the ideals of the giver, the State, must derive its sole motive force from the State. It is a dead-weight

which the State must push up the hill of popular lethargy—if not active opposition. Such a system is wasteful, both of energy and in its effects. Its effects are not permanent; and they are disproportionately small in view of the effort necessary to achieve them.

Moreover such a system leaves undone the work which a selective system, however, imperfectly achieves. Selection, as Bucher has pointed out, is one of the most important social problems in the modern State. In India of to-day, it is still more: it is a problem of historic magnitude. Successive conquests have left in Bengal a medley of castes and races imperfectly combined, imperfectly classified: it has left an obsolete social system under the leadership of an obsolete hierarchy. There are members of classes below, who deserve and demand promotion; there are castes above which are not wholly worthy of their position. Redistribution is necessary, and it is asked for. To neglect this demand would be to neglect a real social need. To establish a purely specific system would be to fight against history, to enlist as enemies the strongest forces of social reconstruction. It would be a vain attempt to fix and crystallize a fluid and unstable condition actually in process of transmutation by its own inherent forces. That transmutation it is the duty of education not to hinder but to help and guide.

How can we combine ideals so incompatible? I will make such suggestions as I have to offer:—

1. We must allow the selective system the fullest play. It is, therefore, impossible to continue the policy of a Vernacular education as a water-tight compartment. We must permit the teaching of English in primary schools, but insist that it shall be properly taught. As the desire for English arises, purely out of the selective

ambition, it is no duty of the State to meet the additional cost. On the other hand, such few children as there are who desire only a Vernacular education and can afford no more, should not by the above concession be excluded from the schools. English, therefore, must be an extra subject with an extra fee.¹ Permission to teach it must be granted only to such schools as can afford the necessary staff.

2. The primary curriculum must be linked direct into the Middle English curriculum, and that again should lead direct into the High School. The present endeavour to make the schools separate entities by an irritating system of "lost years," must be done away with. The Middle Vernacular school should be acknowledged dead in theory as it is in fact.

3. Selection should take place at the close of each stage of education. The Middle School,² not the High School, should test the boy's fitness to go on to the High School, and the High School should test the boy's fitness to go on to the University. Each grade should be the judge of its own work, and its examination should be the outcome, not the determinant, of its curriculum. By this is not meant that each school should be its own examiner, but that the examination should be conducted with the machinery of the grade of school of which it is a test—its head masters and the inspecting officers most directly connected with that grade of school should be the examiners. The examinations should be controlled by the State, and schools should require recognition be-

¹ As English will be taught only in the upper classes of the primary school, the really clever boy of small means may be helped by a scholarship.

² There should also be a Primary Final test to preserve the Middle Schools from closing.

fore being allowed to present candidates. The public should, however, be represented in a general Advisory Board to be consulted in regard to fundamental changes, e.g. of curriculum. Above all we must avoid Departmentalism.

4. The conditions of recognition in all grades should be far more definite, and by a definite annual programme should be made progressively more severe. Social organization should be insisted on in every school as an essential.

5. The money spent by the State on education above the Primary grade¹ should be considered not as grant-in-aid, but as scholarships which are earned by the passing of the Primary Final and Middle Final tests. In this sum should be included the expenses of the whole educational system, capital and recurrent grants, inspection, examination charges, salaries of officials. Hence only part of the scholarship will be actually paid in cash to the school, in total practically equivalent to the present grant-in-aid. All of the above charges are just as necessary as the salaries of teachers, the clerks, the servants, and the general running expenses of a school. Hence they are included as Government contribution in calculating the value of a scholarship.

6. The fee rates of schools should be fixed by definite rules at a figure at least double (in the case of High and Middle schools) the present figure. (Purely Vernacular education is an exception to this. Its fees should be kept low. But the fee for English in the Primary school should be very high, e.g. Rs. 1 per month. The Vernacular rates might remain as they are.) Schools should be classified and First Class schools should charge a rate

¹ In the Primary grade there would be grant-in aid for the Vernacular work: Scholarships only for the English classes.

more than double the present rate. All Zilla schools should be counted as First grade schools (and should be made so).

7. There should, however, be a very liberal system of scholarships (calculated as above), distributed according to ability, but assessed purely on a property qualification to all boys passing the Primary Final and Middle Final tests in the higher division. It is to the advantage of the State that the fee rates should be so high as to pay for a decent education. But it is not to the advantage of the State that the poor boy of real ability should be kept out. Young Edisons are of public value. The grant-in-aid system, however, does not achieve this purpose. The money being given not to boys but to schools is distributed over all the pupils in the system; it results, therefore, merely in an infinitesimal lowering of the cost for all, the bulk of whom could perfectly well afford to pay more. For the really indigent it does practically nothing. The whole recurrent grant funds should therefore go in scholarships of no fixed value, but calculated simply according to the needs of the particular cases which have qualified for its receipt.

8. It is seen therefore that every boy in the Middle or High school system is in more or less degree a scholarship holder from Government. A boy can only cease from being a scholarship holder by paying the full cost of his education (which is solely for his own benefit) to the State, viz., the whole fee rates plus the whole of his share of the cost of the system (control, examination, inspection, capital grants). The scholarships may be given on the condition that should the boy fail to justify the State expenditure by not reaching the highest grade to which he aspires, i.e., should he fail either in the Middle

Final of in the High School Final test, he will be called upon either to refund to the State the scholarship in full, or to undergo an education which will qualify him for the grade for which the State considers him fit, and in which it is of advantage both to him and to the State that he should serve. Here we have tackled the problem of degradation.

9. In every district there should be a District Technical (or "Specific") school containing two departments, a lower and a higher. The course in each should be of two years' duration.¹ In both, the courses should offer the widest ranges of choice so that all castes may find subjects for which they are neither socially nor by religion disqualified. The admissions to the various courses should be, however, limited in accordance with statistics as to the demand for labour in those branches of work. The courses should cover all departments of production, agriculture, commerce, manufacture, also lower grade professional work, such as lower grade medical officers (vaccinators, etc.), lower grade clerical and legal work, lower grade teacherships. The lower course may be entered from the Middle Final test, being free and compulsory for the failures (unless they refund as noted above). The higher course should be entered from the High School Final as noted above. Boys of ability may pass from the Lower to the Higher course.

• All boys reading in the High School who wish to discontinue their studies before sitting for the Final test are liable to study in the Lower Technical—or to use the better term, Specific course—unless they have entered the First or Second class, in which case they are liable to study in the Higher Specific course. In the Middle

¹ Query *one* year in the Lower Department.

would do much to remedy the present incompetence of teachers in this direction. A considerable improvement of the Zilla schools would do much to set an example. At present the aided schools are bad, not only because they do not want to be good, but also because they do not know what goodness is. Excluding the European schools and, of the Indian schools, Hastings House, Calcutta, only, there are no good schools in Bengal, no single school comparable to an ordinary English country grammar school. It is a pity that the training colleges have done so little in teaching school organization. The reason is, the persistent neglect of the fact that the soul of a training college is its model school. The model school is not a place where students practise: if any teach there it is only the very best, and they practically as temporary members of the school staff. It is a school where the students see all things done as they should be done, a school with real discipline, real organization and real social life. As I say there is with one exception no such school in Bengal. Methods of teaching are capable of little remedy so long as the incubus of the Matriculation continues: training college methods of teaching are somewhat under the suspicion of the ordinary practical teacher.

A school which teaches boys discipline and a happy energetic life is doing some good even if its training methods are obsolete. A school which makes much of the direct method, of practical geography, and the new arithmetic, if it is without discipline, a mere cramming institute, is doing no good; it is doing incalculable harm however modern its teaching methods may be.

Food.—The mid-day meal should be made a charge on the school fees and should be provided by the school,

as is done in England. Games can then be made compulsory and common-room life greatly developed.

Subsidy of Local Clubs.—It is clear that the present-day schools serving wide areas, destitute of communications, cannot in all cases provide the boys with means of social self-expression. There is at present a tendency for local village clubs to grow up. They are small ephemeral affairs often having no more property than a football, and existence only as long as the leather skin holds out. They are without control, too many and too small to do good. Subsidy of these local clubs, part of the subsidy being paid for effective control by a competent person, would do much to make of them a reality. They would reach classes of children to whom staying on at school after school hours is a real hardship; they would reach those who have left school early, and are spending idle and dangerous lives.

It is my firm belief that if there were more joy of living, more play, more gaiety in Bengal, there would be less foolish grumbling, done simply for the sake of grumbling, less actual anarchy and murder; while serious criticism would be all the more weighty and real coming from men who are living their lives, men of wider interests, deeper and stronger instincts, fuller and nobler days.

I look to the future, not with hope, yet without despair.

